Faculty of Science
CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

DISSERTATION THESIS / PRAGUE 2015
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

QUEER GEOGRAPHIES OF SEXUALITIES:

SOCIOCULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF SEXUALITIES IN SPACE AND (DE)CONSTRUCTION OF HETERONORMATIVITY

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QUEER GEOGRAFIE SEXUALIT:
SOCIOKULTURNÍ ORGANIZACE SEXUALIT V PROSTORU A (DE)KONSTRUKCE HETERONORMATIVITY

Dissertation thesis

Supervisor: doc. RNDr. Bc. Jana Spilková, Ph.D.

Prague, 2015

ANNOUNCEMENT:

This dissertation describes my original work except where acknowledgement is made in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has been, or is being submitted to any other university for any degree, diploma or any other qualification.

In Prague, 2nd July 2015

Signature

For Lukáš, anyuka and táta.

Exclusion, relations, visibility make no sense if it they are not spatial. Neither of these make sense without language. Does language make sense in geography?

ABSTRACT

Geographies of sexualities started to develop within the Anglo-American academic context during the late 1980s. In the 1990s, propelled by the cultural turn, the swelling of post-structuralist and postmodern critiques, and a growing recognition of the limitations to scientific knowledge production and representation, geographers of sexualities introduced queer theory into human geography. Queer theory provided human geography with powerful tools for approaching not only *straight*forward spatialities of sexualities, but this new lens contributed to the development of human geographies as such. Currently, at least in the Anglo-Saxon geographical context, the field of geographies of sexualities is considered part of mainstream human geography. Therefore, the main goal of this thesis is to provide a few lines of reasoning for the development of geographies of sexualities in Czechia and Central Eastern Europe (CEE) and introduction of post-structuralist understandings, specifically queer theory.

In contrast to other phenomena that may be locally exclusive or particular, human sexualities are everyplace, albeit quite variable and dependent on the context in which they "enter into language," become institutionalized, and are regulated. Geographers have been specifically insightful about the ways in which sexualities, particularly the sexual identities and behaviors, are geographical and how various spaces and places become sexualized. Post-structuralist and queer geographical approaches substantiated in this thesis are thus utilized for gaining understanding about the spatiality and contextuality of human (sexual) subject (de)construction, which is heavily dependent on understanding the workings of power, discourse, and meaning. The societal (re)production, (re)construction, and deconstruction of heteronormativity as a prominent form of constitutive power-relation, which is involved in the regulation of human sexualities, becomes a focal point of this thesis.

By employing quantitative methodologies within a queer research project on hard-to-survey populations, I aim to queer the normative methodological framework and contribute to the use of quantitative methods outside of their traditional *representative* uses. Both micro- and macro-scale studies were conducted to examine and provide evidence about the spatial workings of heteronormativity. At the micro scale, a fluidity, multiplicity and contextuality of human sexual identity negotiation in various spaces and places will be demonstrated with data obtained from a Czech non-heterosexual subpopulation. At the macro scale, inductive statistics and interpretative analysis are utilized for understanding the economic, cultural and social factors influencing the very fabric of distribution patterns and forms of gay businesses and places in the EU27, Norway and Switzerland.

Keywords: geographies of sexualities, heteronormativity, queer theory, sexuality, non-heterosexuals, Czechia, CEE, post-structuralism, postmodernism, cultural turn, linguistic turn.

ABSTRAKT

Geografie sexualit se začaly vyvíjet v angloamerickém akademickém prostředí již během 80. let 20. století. V 90. létech, hnány kulturním obratem, sílící postmoderní a post-strukturalistickou kritikou a stále zřetelnějším chápáním omezenosti možností našeho poznání a reprezentace, přinesly geografie sexualit do humánní geografie queer teorii, která poskytla mocné nástroje umožňující zkoumat nejen stále zřetelnější prostorovosti sexualit, ale také poskytla novou perspektivu, jež obohatila humánní geografii jako takovou. V současnosti jsou již geografie sexualit, alespoň tedy v anglosaském geografickém prostředí, považovány za součást mainstreamové humánní geografie. Hlavním cílem této disertační práce je představit vybrané přístupy, především pak ty post-strukturalistické a queer teoretické, které mohou pomoci, rozvinout geografie sexualit v Česku i v dalších zemích střední či východní Evropy (CEE).

Na rozdíl od jiných fenoménů, které se mohou vyskytovat jen místně či specificky, lidské sexuality jsou všude, i když rozmanité, regulované a závislé na kontextu, ve kterém „vstoupí do jazyka," a způsobu jejich institucionalizace. Byli to především geografové, jež osvětlili, kterými způsoby jsou sexuality, především pak sexuální identity a chování geografické, a jak se nejrůznější prostory a místa stávají sexualizovanými. Post-strukturalistické a queer geografické přístupy rozvíjené v této práci jsou následně užity k pochopení prostorovosti a kontextuality (de)konstrukce lidského (sexuálního) subjektu, procesu, který je značně závislý na fungování moci, diskurzu a významu. Společenská (re)produkce, (re)konstrukce, a dekonstrukce heteronormativity, tedy přední ustavující formy mocenských-vztahů činných v regulaci lidských sexualit, je středem zájmu této práce.

V rámci této queer výzkumné práce, zaměřené na těžko-zkoumatelné populace, je využita kvantitativní metodologie, přičemž v oboru geografií sexualit jsou tradičně užívány metodologie kvalitativní. Práce v tomto ohledu tedy cílí na rozšíření použitelnosti kvantitativní metodologie i v oblasti geografie sexualit, přičemž problematizuje problém reprezentativity. Obsaženy jsou dvě empirické studie, jedna zaměřená na mikro-úroveň a druhá na makro-úroveň, obě zkoumají a vypovídají o prostorové dynamice heteronormativity. Na mikro-úrovni je na základě dat získaných na vzorku české ne-heterosexuální subpopulace, zkoumána a demonstrována fluidita, multiplicita a kontextualita vyjednávání lidských sexuálních identit v nejrůznějších prostorech a místech. Na makro-úrovni EU27, Norska a Švýcarska je pak k vysvětlení ekonomických, kulturních a sociálních faktorů,

ovlivňujících samotnou, strukturu, variabilitu či formu nejrůznějších gay podniků a míst využita induktivní statistika a interpretativní analýza.

Klíčová slova: geografie sexualit, heteronormativita, queer teorie, sexuality, ne-heterosexuální, Česko, CEE, post-strukturalismus, postmodernismus, kulturní obrat, obrat k jazyku.

LIST OF INCLUDED PUBLICATIONS

Publication I	PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Urban Spatiality in the context of (homo/hetero)sexuality: Introduction to a theoretical debate in geographies of sexualities. *GEOGRAFIE*. 2014. Vol. 119, no. 2, pp. 179–198. (IF=0.787)
Publication II	PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Queer space(s). In: MATOUŠEK, R. and OSMAN, R. (eds.): Prostor(y) Geografie. Karolinum, pp. 123–146. ISBN 978-80-246-2733-5.
Publication III	PITOŇÁK, M. (2013): Spatiality, institutionalization and contextuality of heteronormativity: Study of non-heterosexual identity negotiation in Czechia. *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum*. 2013. Vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 27–40.
Publication IV	GABIAM, K., PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Economic, Cultural and Social Factors Influencing the Development of Gay Businesses and Places: Evidence from the European Union. *Moravian Geographical Reports* [online]. 1 January 2014. Vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 2–17. (IF=0.341; 50 percent authorship)

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I.

Space and "us" are one. We live *embodied* lives, and we cannot separate "ourselves" from space. When we comprehend that everything is relational then it is obvious that all depends on everything and everybody. We cannot simply part "ourselves" from "other", one body from another, one identity from another. One is not what *other* is, and other is what one is not; one has not one but *multiple* identities. One *performs* identities, does identities, does spaces, does laws, does contribute to their *construction* by every single minutia, by each and every act or practice does something that one and not one, in fact, can fully understand. Meanings are uncertain, fragmented, multiple, incomplete, there is always a chance for another way of understanding; for another meaning to surface; for becoming something that nothing has yet become; something that has yet not been imagined.

I realize that I cannot ever fully understand myself, nor can I grasp understanding of the *world*. Regardless, I am still passionate about understanding it, despite how restricting this might be. Perhaps I am only limited in *representing* it, which is why I would rather *resonate* with the world and with others while I meet the world's complexity and others' understandings at some points and depart from them at other points. This is what natural means for me; this is what I would like this thesis to achieve. Those that will agree with that sentiment might not always see things the same ways; in fact, we cannot always resonate with everyone. However, acceptance and embracement of disagreement is sometimes a necessary and crucial premise for difference to thrive.

Everyday realities, however, elude this ideal. Many would resonate with me that difference has not yet become embraced and part of everyday realities. I have many stories that I would like to share with you, but since this thesis is devoted to study of heteronormativity and its societal (de)construction, I will share one story that deeply reminded me of that world does not yet embrace difference. We do not live in a world that automatically accepts people with same-sex attraction. People commonly do not see every day spaces as deeply (hetero)sexualized, or they do not see it sexualized at all. The current "structure" has become naturalized or normalized in so many ways that one does not usually concern her or himself with seeing through this invisibly-created (heterosexual) commonplaceness. Every culture is slightly different, most of my personal experiences are founded in Czechia and Slovakia where I grew up and have a family. In this part of central Europe it is considered common that when a man marries a woman, the wife changes her family name and "accepts" her husband's family name. This is a fitting example of patriarchal relations when the woman – a disadvantageous member of society –is *expected to* surrender her name. This custom of uneven and asymmetrical (patriarchal) power relations has become accepted and is stabilized through various institutional, legal and everyday practices that further anchor this norm in the culture and transform a habit into a tradition that is more justified and, thus, more powerful, while in some cultures it may become even unquestionable. Many of my friends would say this is not a big deal; however, it is. Not only is this important because it becomes an indefensible problem when imposed outside opposite-sex relationships, but because it involves genderism, a constant reification that *women* and *men* should be (re)producing uneven gender roles, femininity, and masculinity. Now I will share a story that reminded me of how invading genderism is and how gender is indeed interlinked with sexuality.

When a same-sex couple decides to marry, there are no rules or traditions that provide them guidelines for choosing a common family name after the ceremony. This unexpected situation enables me to highlight the uneven relations and injustices that take place in spaces of various kinds of sexual attractions. Living in a same-sex relationship, I constantly face and oppose gender binary divisions, and counter their imposition onto my own relationship. Regardless that my partner and I are both anatomically male and we "do" masculinity, people who know we are not straight and those who recently realize our sexuality do not automatically align us with masculine gender roles. Rather they try to "make sense" of our relationship by constantly scrutinizing our gender roles and trying to discern the "feminine" or "masculine" traits in each of one of us by reaching out to "intelligible" normatively (anatomically and heteronormatively) constructed cultural codes such as colors, division of domestic work, our income level, or any traits of expected superiority that would attribute masculinity to one of us who *should* occupy a "superior" role or have greater influence in everyday realities of decision-making in our relationship. This genderism is imposed upon "our" everyday lives and is indeed connected with my sexuality research project and the postmodern theories used to frame the project.

I recently experienced a display of genderism that was quiet tough. I did not realize that genderism exists amongst the closest people with whom I live. Prior to our wedding ceremony, my partner and I decided to share a common surname, specifically my surname. We did this for various legal, practical, and sentimental reasons for which I do not have enough space to explain, but it is suffice to say that we took our time reaching this decision. We agreed that instead of announcing it at our ceremony, which is customary for opposite-sex marriages, we wanted to let our parents know beforehand to give them some time to process this *unexpected* information. We remember that even the announcement of our engagement was not exactly *expected* since we decided to get married after seven years of living together, which was still relatively new for same-sex partnerships in the Czech legal code.

So when we told my partner's parents, instead of being interrogated for our rationales and motivations for making this decision, as we expected, we were not confronted immediately in person at all. However, a few days later, my partner (and me indirectly) received an email from his father accusing him (us) of stripping them of their family name in an act of disloyalty. The email resembled more a death notice than anything else. This shockingly reminded us both of how embodied the patriarchal values were embedded in the family surname, and how my partner's "*male body"* was expected to carry on this male *"brand heritage."*

We were struck by how a family name, seemingly immaterial identification that is often attributed to have "unimportant value" in "*women's bodies"*, had in our case become a cardinal issue: failure of a *"male descendant."* Consequently, my partner's grandfather could not make peace with the decision my partner and I had made together about our family's future. He attended our wedding in a disapprovingly performative fashion (he did not approach us, did not congratulate us after the pronouncement, and refrained himself from group photographs). Perhaps a more profound impact was, how he was accepted as such (or at least tolerated) by the rest of his family, with exception of my partner's younger sister, and in doing so they all performatively, even if just tacitly – by not acting, contributed to the adoption of a stance in others and (re)produced genderism and reaffirmed the foundations for his position of power.

When this story is compared to the everyday realities of, for example, transgendered peoples struggling and facing genderism's slaps at every corner of their lives, my story might seem trivial. However, for me, it is indeed a telling example of the ways in which patriarchy and heteronormativity prevail, are (re)produced, and how genderism is inherently connected with its wide acceptance and naturalization. Without the invisible support of patriarchy, heteronormativity, or other normative regimes, such performances would not be tolerated.

Everyday spaces are thus deeply influenced, perhaps structured, by normative codes, *proper* ways of conduct, and by interactions we do not fully understand yet.

II.

I should share with you why my dissertation is written in English. Writing one's dissertation in English is not necessary or usual practice at our department of geography, but I would like to make a few points that led me to choose English. The main goal of my research is to pioneer Czech geographies of sexualities and accordingly advance the geographical thought in Czechia. I recognize that this task had to be done in Czech. I did not direct my scientific writing only to local geographers and related social scientists, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to the responsible and general public who may not have mastered English. By writing my scientific papers in Czech, I wanted to facilitate access to this knowledge and meet certain ethical criteria that would distribute the benefits of this research from me and my department to those about whom the work primarily is. Had my writing focused primarily on for an English audience in highly rated Anglo-Saxon journals, instead of writing in Czech, I would have prioritized my own interests and gains over the populations for which this work is meant. Furthermore, I would have contributed to the established, dispersed mode of neo-liberal research where production and competition accentuations the quantity of "impacts". This is connected with the more scientometric approach to researchers than before. Moreover, I think efficiency in writing and publishing is slowly gaining prevalence over the other potential skills in researchers such as teaching or the general motivation which would surely raise the quality and social relevance of the research process.

So why have I written this dissertation in English? I did so because I understand it to be a counterpart to my published Czech publications, all of which are included in the body of this dissertation. I aim to expand and contextualize the substance to be comprehensible to researchers, e.g. to my colleagues, senior geographers, and of course to other social scientists as well. It is then directed to those who by and large mastered English. Moreover, I want to share my work with my colleagues abroad who have helped me the most. They have made my pioneering project easier, made me not feel alone and isolated as I could always write to them. Many of those colleagues have become my informal consultants and friends from within and outside the academy. Therefore, I would like to underscore that my research would not have been possible without *you*. Thank you for your support, guidance, and friendship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although it is not possible to include everyone and express my gratefulness to all of you who have helped, inspired or supported me during the past few years I would like to recall some by name. First of all, I am thankful to my supervisor Jana Spilková for accepting me and for being patient with me during all this time. I would like to thank Brita Hermelin for introducing me to the field of feminist geographies back in 2010 and for helping me find what I want to study. I also want to thank Jon Binnie for accepting my request for consultations and for being so kind to meeting me in Prague and Sheffield. I thank also Koessan Gabiam for contacting me after my first international conference and for spending some great collaborative research time on our hopefully first of many co-authored articles. I want to give thanks to Jan Kára for having inspiring discussions with me and for supporting me, to Chris Brickel for accepting me in Dunedin, to Eric Olund for receiving me in Sheffield and for spending a lot of time over my research and for working with me, to Margo Huxley for letting me and my husband stay in your home and for opening up many nice conversations, to Gill Valentine for accepting me to Sheffield and being so kind to give me feedback and inviting me to your conference, to Petr Dostál for being supportive and sharing your experience with me, to Jennifer Fluri and Mona Domosh for inviting me to Dartmouth and encouraging my work from afar, to Pavel Chromý and Dušan Drbohlav for supporting my research, to Edgar Sandoval for his kind help proof-reading this thesis and for being a great friend. Moreover, I am also grateful to many of colleagues in Czechia and abroad for being supportive, inspiring, helpful and willing to share experiences, namely to Honza Jarolímek, Robert Osman, Roman Matoušek, Tereza Freidingerová, Miroslava Poláková, Petr Kučera, Michaela Pixová, Zdeněk Sloboda, Tereza Gelná, and others who have supported me. This list could go very long, and I am afraid I will forget some of you who have helped me as well. However, I would like also to thank all of my anonymous research participants without whom this research would not be possible.

I also have to thank both of my parents but also my other family relatives for understanding and providing me with constant encouragements. Your selflessness has supported me a lot. Moreover, I need to acknowledge that my dear friends have also helped me a lot especially Jana Kropáčková, Eliška Drees and Michal Sergejev. Last but not least, I feel it necessary to thank my husband and soulmate, Lukáš, since he has always tremendously supported me over the past four years that I have been focusing on my doctoral research. Lukáš designed the cover for this dissertation and helped me considerably with the graphics found within this text. This dissertation could not have been possible without him.

Thank you!

Additionally, I would like to thank Space, Sexualities and Queer Research Group of the Royal Geographical Society (with Institute of British Geographers) for providing me with a travel bursary in 2011 and by doing so helped me to meet with my contemporary colleagues for the first time in person.

Furthermore, I would like to thank the oldest Czech foundation "Nadace Nadání, Josefa, Marie a Zdeňky Hlávkových" for aiding my research during the year 2013 and making it possible for me to afford a travel to Australia.

And finally I hereby acknowledge that this dissertation thesis and doctoral research was supported by the following research projects:

GA UK No. 1092214 "Queer geography: Commodification, segregation and globalization of sexual identities in cities?" at the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, Charles University in Prague.

And

SVV No. 260199 "Hodnocení obecných a specifických socio-prostorových a demografických procesů: Česko v evropských a globálních souvislostech" at the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, Faculty of Science, Charles University in Prague.

STRUCTURE AND THESIS GOALS

This dissertation thesis is conceptualized as a collection of published papers. The main purpose is to supplement my already published works and posit them in a broader context. As I explained in my preface, most of my publications were written in Czech, and this thesis is thus written in English to balance and further extend the potential contribution of my doctoral research.

Many of the terms that I will be using throughout this thesis, such as sexuality, gender, homosexuality, non-heterosexuality, gay, lesbian, reality, identity, representation, etc., need to be problematized and considered critically. However, for the sake of the lucidity and fluidity of the text, I have decided not to overuse inverted commas or quotation marks[1] throughout this thesis. Rather, I use italics at necessary points where I feel it necessary to stress and problematize the respective term, usually at its first occurrence. I encourage my readers to adopt critical social theoretical perspective and imagine invisible quotation marks or inverted commas around terms that they feel to necessitate it. One way or another, in my post-structuralist stance, regardless the fact that I am the author of this text, I need to accept that meaning of this text is not within my or anybody else's control.

I understand this thesis more as a beginning of a journey than an end. Therefore, I openly acknowledge that many questions that I initiate will remain unanswered and may potentially disturb the reader since their main intent will not be to provide concrete answers but instead to spark interest in the topic and encourage expanding the disciplinary horizons of Czech human geography.

This thesis is structured into three major parts: first, the philosophical and theoretical framework; second the methodological framework; and the third section introduces my published papers and concludes how this dissertation contributes to the development of the geographies of sexualities.

The first section, named philosophical and theoretical framework, has one broad goal: to span a gap between the progress in Anglo-American human geographical scholarship and the one in Czechia[2] or Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). By focusing on geographies of sexualities, I apply feminist, post-structuralist,

[1] With one exception, when I will discuss research or works of others, I will respect their employed terminology and use quotation marks, to question their correctness.

[2] Czechia /ˈtʃɛki.ə/ is an English short name for The Czech Republic, regardless the fact that it is discursively contested, I concur with authors that for the sake of brevity it is a necessary and the most appropriate term (Čižmárová 2015).

psychoanalytic, linguistic as well as other postmodern theories, which shaped the geographical approaches that were points of departure for my own research within a Czech geographical context. However, most of the important approaches that I apply have not been embraced or examined in Czechia yet. When the “West” underwent a cultural turn during the 1980s and early 1990s, Czechoslovak discourses within geography were still suppressed by the socialist ideology – a Soviet type of communism – which did not allow for investigating difference and in fact repressed anything that would embrace the cultural exuberance (Jeleček 2004). The cultural turn then only begins to gain momentum during the past few years in Czechia and CEE geographies, whereas feminist geographies, and the “new” cultural or “new” geographies, are still rather secondary to the more established approaches prevalent in local geographical scholarship (Blažek, Rochovská 2006; Pospíšilová, Pospíšilová 2014). The recently published Czech geographical edition (Matoušek and Osman 2014), to which I contributed a chapter (Pitoňák 2014), is surely a mark of progress towards a more “culturally informed” geographies that for the first time provided a substantial space for feminist, post-structuralist, and queer understandings.

The first philosophical and theoretical section is further divided into several subsections that aim to provide a basis for my subsequent reasoning. It is not intended to have a linear structure. The rationale behind the ordering of this section is multi-dimensional. As I present several philosophical and theoretical approaches, some may read the collection as eclectic. However, one of the points that I will like to stress in this section is that postmodern and post-structuralist scholarship is not a new paradigm. One does not claim to supersede the other. It is difficult to say that postmodernism or post-structuralist thought have a rival; in fact, from a certain perspective, eclecticism may be seen as its inherent quality. Rather I propose that those who view eclecticism as undesirable and exclusionary recognize that this perception is caused by a scientific “counter-discourse” that aims to portray eclecticism as negative and limited. I suggest that my readers maintain an open-mind towards pluralism and postmodernism, which are necessary for nourishing the study the difference in diversity.

I will direct critical attention to the ways in which knowledge is produced using feminist critiques of Cartesian and positivist frameworks in order to show how knowledge production once was exclusionary and unethical. I will underscore feminist positionality, illuminate the concept of situated knowledges, and explain why all research is inherently a political process. Further I will explain that prior to the cultural turn in geography, the discipline, among others, considered landscape and reality as some sort of objective category that can be discovered, described, and represented via maps, texts, charts, etc. By introducing the cultural turn, I will direct attention to a crisis of representation as a result of imperfect representations produced by knowledge that was previously produced from an incontrovertibly partial perspective (e.g. masculine, wide, middle-class, heterosexual, etc.). I hope to highlight the ways in which representations are created as well as implicate discourse and meaning as inseparable qualities that need to be further investigated in order to understand the nature of knowledge production in geography and our actual capacity for representing and studying reality. On that account, I start with my investigation of semiotics and linguistics as foundational disciplines important for developing structuralist understandings that will, in turn, be important for understanding the post-structuralism that evolved from critique of structural theories. To the best of my knowledge there is no work in Czech geography that would consider and investigate the role of semiotics. I will explain this in detail since understanding that there is a "gap between words and things" is essential for developing structuralist conceptualizations of science. I will direct my attention to the founder of structuralism and linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure, and introduce his explanation of the working of language. Then I will present an argument behind structuralist thinking and explain how language plays an active role in the creation of both our cultural reality and its scientific representations. Thereafter I will move towards poststructuralist understandings and explain the ways in which it is impossible to restrict and fully grasp the workings of meaning in language and by doing so re-conceptualize the ways in which knowledge and reality are produced within the margin of language.

I will then apply this structuralist and poststructuralist reasoning to the formulation of a poststructuralist approach towards the constitution of a human (sexual) subject. Using homosexual as the example, I will demonstrate how the creation of a single word within a language and discourse can have tremendous material consequences on real people. By doing so, I will critically reconsider the distinction between the material and immaterial. On these grounds I will further narrow my attention to understanding human identity and subjectivity production, reject the Cartesian conscious, unified, and rational subject, and introduce poststructuralist and psychoanalytic understandings of the process of subjectivity formation. Here I will apply all the preceding theoretical perspectives for substantiating an argument that all human identities, including gender and sexual identities, are artful creations of the sophisticated, culturally regulated frameworks of power. I will focus considerable attention to the works of Judith Butler and explain her theory of performativity, based on speech act theory, which was crucial for the development of queer theory. Before I proceed to an explanation of queer theory, sexuality and sexual identities, I will introduce Foucault's understandings of power that are essential for an understanding of queerness. Following this I will briefly introduce queer understandings of sexual identities and extend it to my understanding of queer spatiality and relational understanding of space. In the last subsection of my philosophical and theoretical framework I will introduce the discipline of geographies of sexualities and point out to its development in CEE, thus outside of the "West."

In the second part the methodological framework section I will start with building upon the discussion of various philosophies and theories of knowledge and focus on developing sensitivity to difference by assessing the issue of researcher's positionality, reflexivity and the situated nature of knowledge production. For being able to do so I will need to put some of my privacy aside and discuss my positionality and standpoints which stood behind my research in form of motivations, etc. In a similar vein, I will further extend the discussion of my positionality by introducing discussion of the institutional positionality of my research; by doing so, I will revisit and learn from some of the previous challenges and anxieties that institutionally restrained the academic writings of my predecessors elsewhere (Binnie 1997). The positionality section will thus aim to underscore the embodied nature of research as "human" process and disregard it to be "objective" and disembodied.

The following part of my methodological framework section will then aim to nearer the used methodologies of data collection and discuss the characteristics of my datasets in depth. Since research in the field of geographies of sexualities is in fact a research on hard-to-survey populations, I will pay attention to this methodological problem in detain and show that even with limited resources and by using of quantitative methodologies an interesting sample and dataset may be attainable.

In the third part I will briefly introduce four of my published works, explaining their main contributions and rationales. The first paper that is included is a journal article that was written to introduce urban geographies of sexualities into Czech geographical discourse. The second paper is a theoretical chapter in an edited book about geography, which aims to introduce geographies of sexualities and queer theory understandings in the broader context of poststructuralist and postmodern geographies. The third paper is a journal article that theorizes spatiality, institutionalization and contextuality of heteronormativity, specifically on the negotiation of non-heterosexuals' sexual identities. Moreover, this theoretical interdisciplinary article is complemented with empirical data collected among 1589 non-heterosexuals. The fourth paper is a journal article that I co-authored with my colleague Koessan Gabiam from Université Libre de Bruxelles. In this paper, we focus on the macro level analysis of diversity and distribution of various gay spaces and places in EU27, Norway and Switzerland.

In the last part I will conclude my thesis goals and explain how the various overarching themes need to be understood in context to each other, neither disproving nor superseding all of the "other" approaches. Rather, they need to be understood as mutually supportive, diverse, and undogmatic, which will enhance or make them more capable of reaching their goals. Non-heterosexuals and issues connected with human sexualities are thus about to be allowed into Czech geographical discourses in order to make them better in "representing of the reality".

Main thesis goals:

- Substantiate rationale or a basis for geographical study of socially-constructed reality.
- Develop deconstructive geographical understanding of human (sexual) identities and spatiality.
- Introduce post-structuralist and queer geographies of sexualities.
- Contribute to the development of geographies of sexualities from outside the "West."

I. PHILOSOPHICAL and THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> "Philosophy is to research as grammar is to language, whether we immediately recognize it or not. Just as we cannot speak a language successfully without following certain grammatical rules, so we cannot conduct a successful piece of research without making certain philosophical choices. Philosophy, like grammar, is always there"
>
> (Elspeth Graham 1997, p. 8)

Rob Johnston, in his chapter "Philosophy, Ideology and Geography", reminds us that until the 1970s very few geographers paid attention to philosophy and ideology in their academic education (Johnston 1989, p. 48). But how can one pursue wisdom and knowledge (i.e. philosophy) without paying proper attention to it? How can one produce knowledge without understanding what knowledge is in the first place? On what grounds do geographers evaluate and *choose* between competing philosophies? And is this process conscious or rather it takes some form of implicit adoption of philosophy (Johnston 1989)?

My thesis is rooted largely in postmodern[3] and post-structuralist philosophies. Both endeavor to be sensitive to difference and, reconciling with pre-postmodern thinking, can be understood as *post-paradigms* (Gregory 1989). From a philosophical perspective this means that they do not limit knowledge to certain restrictive theories of acceptable and inacceptable knowledge, known as *epistemologies*, nor do they adhere to singular *ontology* that would constrain the boundaries of what can be known. However, postmodern and post-structuralist approaches certainly have much to say about various *methodologies* i.e. means of acquiring information and knowledge (Johnston 1989). Who or what comes to decide whether something is geography? Is it my degree in geography, and if so, does it matter which undergraduate or graduate program I received my degree from? Is it my current affiliation at the department, character of my research funding or my actual research interests? Can I self-designate myself as a geographer? What is the difference between an urban geographer and an urban sociologist? All of these questions have led me to understand what Valentine eloquently sums up in the following quote:

[3] Postmodernism is a much broader but parallel term to post-structuralism (Murdoch 2006). On a fundamental level postmodernism is a critique of what is usually called "the Enlightenment project" – of the power of reason and the progress of rationality, which propelled modernity, further it raises questions about place, space and landscape in the production of social life (Gregory 1989, p. 68).

> "Boundaries between different areas of knowledge and scientific disciplines have been, during the course of last three decades, proven to be artificial, fluid and porous"
>
> (Valentine 2001, p. 170).

In the course of my doctoral study, I have striven to develop sensitivity towards different kinds of geographical thought and towards their differing philosophies. It is not an easy task to grasp what postmodernism and post-structuralism are about; therefore, I will start by providing a theoretical discussion where I will discuss the main concepts and ideas that guided me in my *pioneering quest* of developing sensitivity towards difference, specifically to the geographies of sexualities in Czechia. As I will try to explain in this knotty section, the inclusion of *difference* has a number of profound preconditions without which any concern for difference may lead to futility or general misapprehension. Geographies of sexualities is a complicated area of interest. Nowadays it cannot be understood simply as geographies focusing on sexualities in any conceivable way or only in terms of social, cultural, economic or political geographies (Valentine 2001). Instead it has been, and indeed it had, deeply affected geographical thought as such, similarly as have done the related feminist geographies.

Studies of sexualities in geography became possible after the cultural turn, which has been influenced primarily by feminist, post-structuralist and postmodern thoughts (Valentine 2001). For this reason, I will primarily focus on their respective contributions. However, various approaches like humanism, Marxism, structuration theory, realism, structuralism, psychoanalysis and other have paralleled them and cannot be artificially separated or presented as successive in chronologies following some alleged linear directions. Instead, these mutually interlinked currents have porous boundaries and one should be wary of representations that impede this understanding. There is an underlying logic behind the organization of the following sections; although I will share a range of different approaches, I will strive to maintain an awareness of how to address knowledge production and the characteristics that make up knowledge in and outside of the geographies of sexualities.

SITUATED KNOWLEDGE, POWER-RELATIONS AND POLITICAL NATURE OF GEOGRAPHIES OF DIFFERENCE

I start with an extensive quote that has indeed fascinated me for some time:

> "[…] I look up from the screen and force myself to count: one and one and one and one and one and one and one and one and there's another one and one and one and one and another one and one and one and one and one and on and on and on and on and on and on to another one and one and one and on and on to a different one and one and one. It is an onerous task. I find it truly nauseating. Counting on one necessarily renders everything as one and one, on and on. Such is the semblance of pure positivity, as if everything were being affirmed by being counted upon. Life, the universe, […] by way of this operation that goes on and on interminably, the heterogeneous texture of the world is being liquidated: ambivalence reduced to equivalence. […] Is there anything that cannot be counted on? One world. One word. One life. One hand. One year. One tear ... […] We are all dissolved into some one the same one. One can always count on one. Count on and on. Eternally. Is that not enough for you? One boy. One girl. One house. One mouse. One town. One o'clock. One grate. One die. One and one, on and on. […] Etcetera. The same etcetera. Always the same. Again and again and again and again and... . Such is the dead repetition of quantitative geography."
>
> (Doel 2001, pp. 555–6)

Here, Marcus Doel critiques a once influential approach in geography, *spatial science*, which was dominated by generalizations and quantification. He insists that people are in fact not the same but we must admit difference into our geographical imaginations. If we encounter something that is not quantifiable, that cannot be positively categorized, does this entail that we should simply refrain from investigating it?

Human conduct is influenced by various *norms* that are hidden, often *naturalized*, *routinized*, and unquestioned. These norms can be understood as essential entities, or *power relations*. These however do not affect us all the same but instead differentiate (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 128). Homes, workplaces, or the most private spaces of our families are all penetrated by artful power relations that shape and form proper codes of conduct, bodily comportment, ways of speaking and so forth. Having developed a sensitivity towards difference is a crucial aspect for understanding geographical research about sexualities, genders, or other intersecting axes of human difference.

For this sensitivity to be developed, I start by pointing out that it was not so long ago when even the *most obvious* difference in human body – sex and gender – had not been recognized, and *women,* as such, were excluded from the geographers' viewpoint. The derogatively colloquially termed *women issues* were considered literally *out-of-place* in geography up until late 1970s or early 1980s. G*ay, lesbian or bisexual issues* were considered out-of-place (e.g. by considering them squeamish) in geography even back in the 1990s. In regards to the Anglo-American geographies, neither of these *issues* today is considered common in the post-socialist countries. Even after some time has passed since the fall of communism in 1989, sensitivity to difference in the post-socialist and the Anglo-American geographies has not become comparable. Thus, one of my underlying goals is to provide a stimuli for local improvement in this matter.

Prevalent disciplinary power relations have long excluded women from the disciplinary focus even in Anglo-American geographies. Women were considered biased, subjective or irrational (McDowell 1992, p. 404). Under the former positivist framework, a typical geographer was middle-class, white heterosexual, and male, and *he* considered himself detached, rational and neutral. This alleged *disembodied* figure of a researcher/observer was rooted in positivism and the Cartesian philosophy, namely in Descartes popular statement *"cogito ergo sum"* (I think, therefore I am), which marked the philosophical separation of the *subject* from the *object* of research. During the 1970s and the 1980s, this was subjected to heavy feminist criticism since women's perspectives and lives were largely left out from the disciplinary focus. According to Rose this understanding of rationality was a *"masculinist fantasy* … [in which] *a knower can separate himself from his body* [disembody himself from], *emotions, values, past* … [and can become] … *autonomous, context-free and objective"* (Rose 1993, p. 7).

Feminist scholars pointed out that knowledge is always *situated* from a particular (e.g. men's, adults', heterosexuals', etc.) perspective. Donna Haraway coined this as *situated knowledges*, where she used her famous "god trick" argument to state that no one is capable of seeing everything from nowhere or is empowered by an ability of universal gaze (Haraway 1988; Trauger, Fluri 2014). Former rationality that insisted on separating the subject and the object of research was put in question. Knowledge became understood as particular, grounded in the context in which it was produced (Haraway 1988). Feminist scholars insisted that researchers are not all-knowledgeable or neutral; rather, they encourage developing attention to *positionality*, that is, on being reflexive of one's position. However, positionality was not understood in static or singular terms but consisted of multiple selves either racial, national, gendered, sexual, social or dependent on age, health and economic status, etc. (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011). There came a crucial recognition that the researcher is never in possession of complete self-knowledge, and that it is not possible to fully understand oneself or understand how particular aspects of our perceived identities shape the research process (Rose 1997, p. 306). The process of knowledge production thus became conceptualized as an *embodied* process. Both the researcher and the research participant have a body, have sexual desires, have emotions, have health, and all of these and many other aspects inevitably shape his or her understanding of space. This conceptualization of knowledge production resonates with the wider postmodern argument, simplified to the extreme by Lyotard as *incredulity toward metanarratives* (Lyotard 1979, p. xxiv).In other words, people resist claims that attempt to grasp some sort of universal or impartial knowledge. The consequences of these began to be felt in geography as a crisis of representation, which gave birth to attempts to overcome it (Thrift 1996).

In order to produce knowledges situated outside the prevailing masculinist frameworks and shed light on women's perspectives, feminist geographers implemented and developed various qualitative methods such as ethnographies, participant observations, interviews and focus groups, all of which helped complement the quantitative methods, extend their limited categories, and render them less exclusive. However, due to their reflexive approach, feminist researchers paid considerable attention to the power relations between the researcher (i.e. investigator) and the researched. By doing so they pointed out the substantial *ethical* issues underlying the research process. They critiqued, for example, the widespread use of quantitative methods that gave superordinate power to the researcher, giving *him or her* control over the research design, data collection or drawing conclusions (Trauger, Fluri 2014). Moreover, feminist scholars became increasingly aware of the power relations between different and often vulnerable subjects, which, for this reason, they insisted on developing nuanced research ethics (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011). In turn, feminist scholars promoted intersubjective approach accentuating shared experience, rather than some sort of "objective" rationality behind the process of gathering data. This usually meant engaging in collaborative or participatory practices. In McDowell's words, it was an attempt to produce "limited and situated knowledges, knowledges that are explicit about their positioning, sensitive to the structures of power that construct these multiple positions and committed to making visible the claims of the less powerful" (McDowell 1992, p. 413).

It became obvious that any research is not an objective, neutral practice, but is indeed subjective, situated, and an embodied practice involved in a complicated system of power relations. Political, ideological or other forms of neutrality became understood as a myth because whenever research goes beyond the mundane, it develops sensitivity to sexual difference, women, or uneven relations and becomes an instrument, an act, a performance that is inherently *political* and may be seen as a form of activism, depending on ways in which it is presented. Research reacts to, informs about, and contextualizes some form of societal crisis, injustice, and wellbeing, and by doing so, it gives voice or makes visible those that were silenced (Aitken, Valentine 2006, p. 6). Political dimensions of research became evident already in early 1970s when feminist and Marxist scholars challenged the social and cultural inequalities in men and women, pointing out to the widespread patriarchy and heterosexism (Rose 1993) or involved their writing in politically charged discussions about class and relations of capital (Harvey 1973; Massey 1991, 1993). Geographies of sexualities cover a wide range of topics; however, their main agenda includes de-naturalizing heterosexualities, deconstructing and illuminating heteronormativity. In other words, they want to make visible and help dismantle the uneven power-relations among people of various sexualities. The discussed power relations between different people, women and men, non-heterosexuals and heterosexuals, are interlinked and cannot be studied separately. Difference penetrates various categories that for long time were regarded, even by scientists, as stable, solid and discrete. However, in order to discuss these, I need to develop an extensive discussion of concepts that have rarely penetrated into the geographical scholarship.

TURNING AWAY FROM REALITY TO CULTURE, CRISIS OF REPRESENTATION

During the late 1980s and 1990s Anglo-American geography and other related social sciences underwent a momentous shift in their understanding of culture, which was generated mostly by the growing influence of post-structuralism and postmodernism. This shift later became known as a *cultural turn* (Valentine 2001). As I will explain later in detail, these changes need to be understood in terms of even wider shifts in scientific understanding. Perhaps the most important shift that occurred during the 20th century was a shift from structuralism towards post-structuralism, which can be seen as a background for either the cultural turn but also as a reason of a wider representational crisis in geography and other social sciences.

For a long time in geography, culture was understood only as some sort of abstract force, "super-organic" entity, shaping people and landscapes. It was thought to be independent of people having its own special agency. According to Sauer "the shaping force [of the landscape] … lie[d] in the culture itself" (Sauer 2008 [1925]). In this not problematized view, culture became synonymous to tradition, customs, rural and folk. Geographers were concerned mainly with the immediate material and physical forms of culture, while the social and symbolic dimensions were omitted (Valentine 2001, p. 166; Duncan 1993). Cultural landscape was portrayed as some sort of *objective reality* ready for being described by allegedly, *rational, disembodied researchers – cultural geographers* (Jackson 1989; Mitchell 2000; Cosgrove, Jackson 1987). This has changed since the cultural turn shifted the *"old"* cultural geography into a *"new"* cultural geography, rerouting its attention from describing material reality to focusing on power relations, ideology, discourse, forms of representation, meaning, identity, lifestyles and many other social spatial and symbolic dimensions of culture (Valentine 2001, p. 167). "New" cultural geographers explained that "*culture is not only socially constructed and geographically expressed* […] *it must also be admitted that culture is spatially constituted*" (Jackson, 1989 cited in Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 113).

It would be a mistake to understand the cultural turn only in terms of cultural geography subfield (Barnes 2001). It has also penetrated economic geography (e.g. by cultural embeddedness, consumption cultures) and political geography (e.g. in postcolonial theory, networks). Even the already progressive (e.g. radical or Marxist) social geographers that emerged during the rebellious[4] 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Harvey 1973; Massey 1993) have been transformed into "new" social geographies. Their formerly rather structuralist concerns (e.g. explanations of social-spatial inequalities, social justice, segregation, gentrification, etc.) shifted down to the everyday social relations, lifestyles, consumption, meanings in which questions of identity, cultural representations and difference became to be understood as underpinning the individuals' and particular social groups' experiences of oppression (Valentine 2001, p. 170). In Philo's words cultural turn sent "*shockwaves throughout the length and breadth of human geography*" (2000, p. 28). New critical theoretical perspectives were allowed to enter and in turn opened up new spaces for research on topics, such as sexualities, that were previously considered out of place.

Soon after the penetration of post-structuralism and postmodernism into geography it became evident that *reality* is not simply "out there" waiting to be discovered. Rather, the introduced evidence rendered *reality fiction* – fiction that was produced by researchers (e.g. geographers) and put together by words, images, textbooks, figures, graphs, etc. Soon it became apparent that there is no one *reality*; instead, there are various versions, which made obsolete previous conceptions of reality. It could no longer be discovered but perhaps represented (e.g. by words,

[4] E.g. to the civil rights movement, student riots, the emergence of the second wave of feminism.

images, textbooks, figures, graphs, etc.), and by doing so, the world was (re)*created* and (re)*produced* (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011).

This new understanding had great impacts because it meant nothing less that *representations* in the human sciences became "*questionable and active fabrication[s] instead of a source[s] of certainty*" (Söderström 2005, p. 13). This critical moment in social science thinking is sometimes regarded as a *crisis of representation* (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 99; Thrift 1996; Söderström 2005). This crisis had roots in modern philosophy, specifically in *semiotics* (namely Ferdinand de Saussure) and in works of Heidegger, Wittgenstein and Dewey, and it was paralleled, or perhaps foreboded, also in the arts, which substituted the traditional forms of representation such as Leon Battista Alberti's theory of linear perspective in naturalism with post-impressionism[5], cubism, abstractionism, surrealism, etc.

Representation thus became an important term in geography. The simplest definition may define it *"as a symbol or image, or as the process of rendering something (an object, event, idea or perception) intelligible and identifiable* (Dubow 2009, p. 645). Oxford dictionary of geography provides a more nuanced definition:

> "Representation is the ways in which meanings are formed, conveyed, and shared among the members of social groups. These representations can be defined as culture, and cultural forms, notably language, and to some extent *shape the reality they represent*. Given that it is a working, creative, *language driven process*, representation cannot be neutral or without *power relations*."
>
> (Mayhew 2009, pp. 425–6 emphasis mine)

The crisis of representation powerfully highlighted previously silenced questions, which, in turn, gave researchers an opening and foundation for the investigation of difference in geography:

> "Who has the power to produce authorized representations[6] of the world and what/who are the legitimate objects/subjects of scientific representation?"
>
> (Söderström 2005, p. 13).

[5] Starting with Cézane's fragmented visions of The Montagne Sainte-Victoire (Söderström 2005).

[6] Early examples of the crisis of representation in geography can be found in then radically alternative representations of the city. Bunge for example mapped urban realities as spaces of death or spaces dominated by the machines (Bunge 2011 (1971)), Harley pointed out that cartography produces power-knowledge in forms of maps that became understood as reductionist and active rather than passive representations (Harley 2002 cited in Söderström, 2005).

In a response to this, a range of extensive *underrepresentations* in the production of geographical knowledge became uncovered. Feminist, sexuality and queer geographers proved the discipline to be epistemologically phallocentric, i.e. concentrated on male or masculine[7] perspectives (Rose 1993); heteronormative, i.e. denying other than heterosexual interpretations (Binnie 1997), which many others (like post-colonialist researchers) have then proven geography to be "West-centered", etc.

Since representations have become understood as *fabrications* (Söderström 2005) or as products, Foucault's understanding of representations as *discursive practices* (Foucault 1977) will make more sense. *Discourse* is then another crucial, related but complicated term that requires an introductory definition.

> "Discourse is a specific assembly of categorizations, concepts, and ideas that is produced, reproduced, performed, and transformed in a particular set of practices."
>
> (Mayhew 2009, p. 136)
>
> "[Discourse is] A specific series of representations and practices through which *meanings* are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible."
>
> (Campbell 2009, p. 166 emphasis mine)

Meaning cannot be comprehended without a necessary discussion of linguistics, semiotics and other fields of scholarship that recognize that understanding the workings of *language* is a crucial point of departure for our understanding of reality either in the natural or social sciences (Campbell 2009, p. 166). Nayak and Jeffrey aptly summarize that:

> "The realization that all knowledge is constituted through the medium of representation – most commonly language – means that any idea of a truth that exist as exterior to culture is misleading. This suggests that the meanings generated through language, rather than reflecting an underlying reality, actually produce that "reality". This fiction is made to appear "real" through the repetition of narratives that over time become part of an accepted discourse, a common sense way of understanding and narrating the world."
>
> (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 99)

[7] Feminists for example pointed out to that labor representations were unsustainable since voluntary, domestic or emotional labor, care or other forms of unpaid work remained overlooked (McDowell 1997).

In a similar vein Valentine quotes Barnett and maintains that:

> "[B]oth epistemologically and in the construction of new empirical research objects, the cultural turn is probably best characterized by a heightened reflexivity towards the role of language, meaning, and representations in the constitution of "reality" and knowledge of reality."
>
> (Barnett 1998, p. 380 cited in Valentine, 2001, p. 167).

Meanings, language, and subjective representations become essential for developing sensitivity towards difference and, in my case, for understanding everyday realities and experiences of non-heterosexuals. Consequently, I need to pay attention to semiotics (the study of signs, symbols and other representational codes) and linguistics (the study of language), two of the founding disciplines of structuralism and post-structuralism[8]. Nonetheless, in advance to this I briefly address some critique that understands these changes as a infelicitous turn towards "culturalist", "theoreticist", "dematerialized" or "immaterial" geographies (Philo 2000). First of all this view is improper since paying attention to immaterial does not necessarily mean denying the material:

> "The fact that every object is constituted as an object of discourse has *nothing to do* with whether there is a world external to thought, or with the realism/idealism opposition. An earthquake or the falling of the brick is an event that certainly exists, in the sense that is occurs here and now, independently of my will. But whether their specificity as objects is constructed in terms of 'natural phenomena' or 'expressions of the wrath of God', depends upon the structuring of a discursive field. What is denied is not that such objects exist externally to thought, but the rather different assertion that they could constitute themselves as objects outside of any discursive condition of emergence."
>
> (Laclau, Mouffe 1985, p. 108 emphasis original)

Even though I agree that overemphasizing the immaterial may not be always the most productive course of action, especially when it requires considerable theoretical underpinnings, I am in concord with those who have pointed out that relations to capital, economic exploitation or the class questions of social justice (Harvey 2000,

[8] I will refrain myself from clearly defining post-structuralism, since it appears that there are many poststructural-isms, each accompanied by its own particular set of theoretical and empirical concerns (Murdoch 2006).

1993) are insufficient for understanding other intersectional, complicated axes of difference such as gender, race, sexuality, religion, nationality, ability, age, etc. (Young 1998; Bell, Valentine 1995). Valentine attributes most of the criticism behind the cultural turn (Harvey 1993, 1989, 2000; Philo 2000) to dissatisfaction with the de-politicization of social geography since the 1990s crisis following the dismantling of Soviet Union and fall of the Iron curtain (Valentine 2001). As I will try to make clear hereafter, expansions of post-structuralist works focusing on difference (e.g. gender, race, sexuality, ecology, etc.) are in fact symptomatic to structuralists' (e.g. historical materialists') failures to be inclusive (Young 1998; Rose 1993).

It is true that by turning to the post-structuralist thought geography is becoming rather eclectic (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011; Valentine 2001). However, since post-structuralism cannot be separated from yet another larger, and more culturally affected stream – postmodernism – it has to be put into an equation that eclecticism as a term is perhaps only a sort of counter-discourse, a negative term, used against those who encourage scientific diversity and want to study difference. If Lyotard was to explain his *incredulity towards metanarratives* (Lyotard 1979), all of the alleged "truths" based on a singular "story." This includes the work of Hegelian and Marxist dialects, which should be approached with suspicion and asked why they should be kept at the forefront of this research (Murdoch 2006).

Many of the "new" social, cultural, economic or other geographies have invited difference in and have begun their quests for including those groups that were previously considered out-of-place or out-of-geography-scope (e.g. sexual dissidents, people with illnesses, disabled people, children, young people, etc.). In turn, geographers have broadened their understandings of the unequal natures of power relations within society and acknowledged that apart from class relations there are also other not-less important forces like patriarchy, heterosexism and heteronormativity, ableism, adultism, racism, etc. It has to be acknowledged that all of these influence the ways in which different people experience everyday spaces, and vice versa. Due to the influence of post-structuralist thought, geography focuses "*on questions of unequal treatment, domination and oppression of one group or groups in society over other(s)*" (Valentine 2001, p. 170).

I suppose that for many of my readers this move sounds radical or unrelated to the empiricist current of geography, especially for those who have been separated from the development of Anglo-American geographical thought between the 1960s-1990s. This is also the case for Czech or Slovak geographies (Jeleček 2004). It is my intention to "fill the gap" so I will try to "come back in time" and outline some of the crucial foundations of these changes in detail, even if this means extending my thesis and detouring from geographies of sexualities at times.

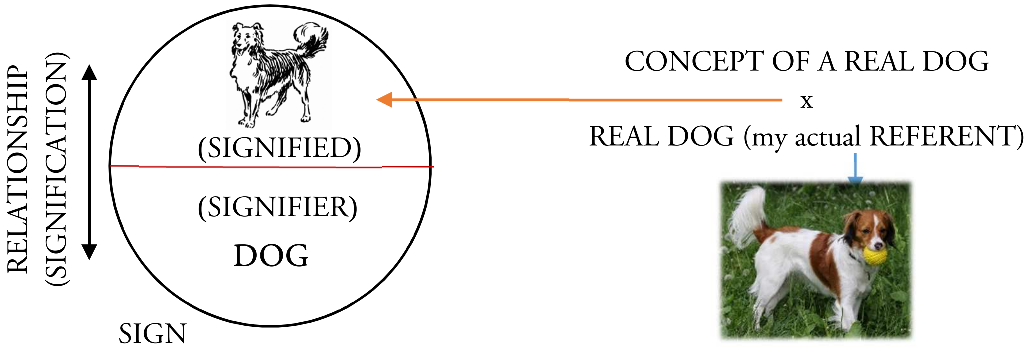
ROLE OF LANGUAGE: SEMIOTICS, STRUCTURALISM

It can be said that semiotics opened a gap between words and things, which "will never be closed again" (Söderström 2005). This assertion seems rather philosophical: however, semiotics has had a profound impact on geography (e.g. crisis of representation). Because to ask about what is the connection between representation and reality is to actually ask about the connection between language and reality (or culture and reality).

Many scholars have argued that scientific interest in language gave birth to *structuralism*. The foundation of this intellectual movement is usually attributed to Ferdinand de Saussure's posthumously published *Course in General Linguistics* (Saussure 1986 [1916]). Saussure was a Swiss linguist and his work is still valid both in contemporary human geography and the rest of the social sciences even after nearly 100 years (Dubow 2009, p. 646). In Saussure's concept of linguistics, *language* is understood as comprised of *signs*, the elements of language, which are most commonly words, images, sounds, odors, flavors, acts, objects or anything else that can have a meaning. Meaning is crucial, and, since I am not a linguist, my discussion will be limited to the understandings of meaning and the ways in which they will have implications on my (queer) geographical understandings of spaces, places, identities, or any other signs.

In Saussure's view, signs are double entities that consist of a *signifier* (e.g. what you see or what you hear, sounds of words, shape of letters, etc.) and a *signified* (e.g. the idea, the actual concept of the thing). The signifier and the signified are both psychological, immaterial, and extremely necessary.

Figure 1: Arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified in Saussure's linguistics



Source: author's own depiction, adjusted from (Saussure 1986 [1916]).

A key contribution of Saussure's work was a critical consideration of how a *link* between the signifier and signified, which for most people seems "transparent", "natural" or "self-evident", is purely *arbitrary* – conventional, normative, routinized. Aristotle had noted in his *On Interpretation* (Aristotle 350 B.C.E) that there is no natural connection between the sound of any noun and the things it signifies. However, according to Foucault, societies had begun to discover this understanding only in the early modern age (Foucault 2005 [1970]). Currently, every child has to learn that words and objects are separate (Greenfield, Bruner 1966), and even after children learn language it still takes them some time to disconnect the words from things, and when they acquire "the power" to speak of things in their absence (i.e. language displacement), it feels like *magic* (Piaget 2006 [1926]; Chandler 1994). For this reason, in fig. 1, the *actual* referent may not even exist (in this case the dog does exist since she is my own) or may have not existed in the first place (e.g. if we actually meant the mythological dog Kerberos). Different languages do not possess a direct connection between all words and all things. For example, neither *table* nor *stůl* (in Czech) have any connection to their respective *referents/objects/things* to which they refer. This is why a gap between the words and things was opened. According to Saussure's semiotic understanding, words and concepts do not describe any pre-existent reality, but instead they constitute what counts as reality. Consequently, Saussure chose a term "to signify" as in "have meaning", rather than "to represent" as in "stand for" (Dubow 2009, p. 646). Language is, therefore, not a reflection of the world "out there" (beyond language); instead, language is a system[9] of signs which function to *signify* it. This will become important when I discuss identity, subjectivity and spaces.

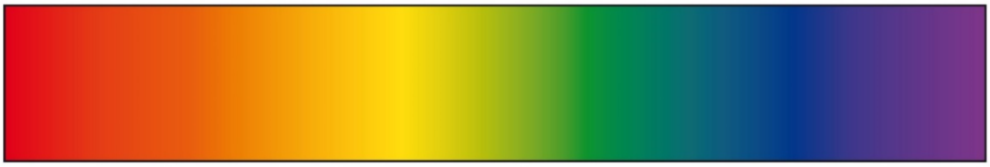
Most words (e.g. nouns) refer to abstract concepts rather than to physical objects in the world. There is no the city, the bridge, or the state. None of these have an actual physical referent to their signifier. Only "proper nouns" have specific "physical" referents, and only a few of them possess only one physical referent (Microsoft, Rolling Stones or a name of Czech village Prostředkovice). A language would not be a language if every city, every mountain, had its own specific name to be used in daily conversations, which would deter its primarily function. Language needs to facilitate a *communicative function* and therefore needs to move beyond particularity. Generalization is thus a requirement for language to exist. It is not possible to name every star, distinguish one cloud from another, etc. (Chandler 1994).

Highly abstract signifiers such as "mind", "culture" or "history" all signify much more than just things and yet there is no *object* that could represent them. It is thus not necessary for a *thing* to exist physically in an objective material world. Words may be imaginary and abstract concepts, but the consequences of their existence are real (as I previously discussed with connection to discourse).

According to Sausserian semiotics, once a sign has been established in the linguistic community (in Foucault's terms once it entered the discourse), individuals do not have power to alter it (Saussure 1986; Chandler 1994). Once an "object" or a "phenomenon" has been recognized by the language, that is, once it receives a "name", the thing or phenomenon becomes (more) *real* for the language's speaking community (Penhallurick 2010, p. 113). Moreover, signifiers are not chosen freely: rather, they are accepted. Because language is inherited from the past, everyone passes words down (Chandler 1994; Berger, Luckmann 1991). If individuals decided to name signifiers on their own, people would not understand each other. Everyone would have invented their own words for everything. From a structuralist view, things do not exist independently of the language which we use. Reality is in fact created by significations (alleged representations).

[9] Consequently, Saussure used a systematic linguistic approach for understanding the structure of language – uncovering the symbolic system and the relationships between its various elements. Saussure distinguished between *parole* (individual use of language) and *langue* (systemic language shared by community - syntax, phonetics, etc.).

Picture 1: Light spectrum



Source: Deborah S Krolls, Wikipedia commons CC BY-SA 3.0

World and reality are simply too complicated and beyond our comprehension. Therefore, we need language to make sense of it. A good example is "reality" of color spectrum and "significations" of colors. In a way we can say that colors do not exist and that their very categories, boundaries and understandings are culturally (linguistically) dependent.

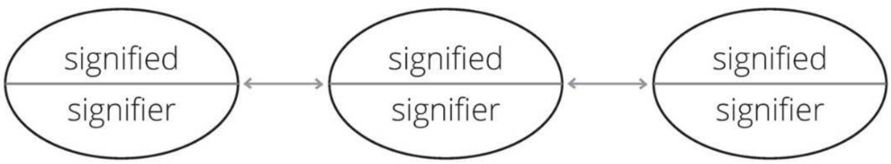
According to Umberto Eco, our cultures analyze the *real world phenomena* and thereby produce "cultural units" (such as colors) which they express by linguistic terms, and these units then operate within a structured system which will be different from culture to culture. He names these differences in different cultures *"semantic spaces"* (Eco 1985). In his analysis, Eco recognized, for example, that English and Latin differed greatly in their semantic spaces of color: English distinguishes between seven primary colors – red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet – whereas Latin only between four – *fulvus, flavus, glaucus, and caerullus.*

In this way, we can understand that language creates categories that do not actually exist in "the world," but that cultures have invented them. Therefore, the understanding that there are no pre-existing categories prepared for "the act of naming" is crucial for my subsequent discussion. Without paying attention to the workings of language, it would be difficult to understand that various *real forms* are rather amorphous, indiscreet and perhaps often indiscernible for us, without the categorization that takes place in language and is limited to culture. Where does a smile begin, or a sneer and grin end? How long is a corner? Where do sex and gender divide? The complexity and consequences of these questions is immense.

We must acknowledge that there are many things in the world for which we have not words (e.g. blue eyed blonds), but we have also many words that do not correspond to objects in the known world because as far as we know they might not exist (e.g. graviton, tachyon, etc.). Saussure stressed that signs only make sense when they are in relation to other signs as part of an abstract, formal system. Consider how you may understand what graviton and tachyon may signify, even though there is no way of actually finding it out. These words may resemble more familiar signifiers of subatomic particles such as prot**on**, neutr**on**, electr**on**, bos**on**, pi**on**, etc., yet their roots signify gravity or Greek word [illegible] (tachy /[illegible]tɑː xi/ meaning rapid). When familiar with the language system enough (if you count Greek, then in plural systems), you may grasp some degree of their meaning without having to know anything about the terms. As a result of this, Saussure conceptualized *meaning* as purely structural and dependent on the (no matter how arbitrary or conventional) relations with other signs within the system, independent of its referent (an actual thing – gravity; faster-than-light rapidity). Both signifier and signified are thus purely relational entities in Saussure's view. The meaning of a sign thus has some sense only within the context (relations) of other signs. This is what makes Saussure a structuralist.

One of the structuring principles that Saussure emphasized were the differences between signs. His system is thus mainly a system of oppositions, often *binary oppositions* (Nature/culture, Life/Death, Man/Woman). Therefore, the most exact meaning of every sign is being whatever the others are not (Saussure 1986; Chandler 1994). These binary oppositions have later been subjected to post-structuralist critique (see later). Still this understanding brings some critical attention to categories that are often employed without critical thought. What is public space? Who is homosexual? Who is Czech? What is a city? What is a bar? Who is a woman? What is red? What is a boundary? Attempts to define the aforementioned terms without using any comparative terms – let alone without relating the term to any other sign – prove difficult. A *relational system* is necessary for them to carry any meaning.

Figure 2: Relations between various signs



Source: based on Saussure, 1986; depiction by Lukáš Pitoňák

In social sciences and humanities, these principles have been utilized for understanding meanings, relations, differences, and so forth between things, people, nations, and so on. I will further conceptualize the *sign* as widely as possible, encompassing individuals, spaces, etc. no matter how complex these might be since they are parts of a relational system that attributes meaning to them.

Sausserian linguistics brought insight around the fact that language does not refer to reality directly, but rather it signifies (culturally constructs) what reality is and what it is to be understood as. In relation to the crisis of representation, we must not forget that we do not refer to reality but to our imperfect linguistic understandings of it. Even highly "realistic" representations via some physical medium always involve a certain perspective, a point-of-view. Representations that claim to be real deceive us since they deny the difference between the *map and the territory*, between representation and reality. I believe that absurdity of this is splendidly demonstrated by an excerpt from Lewis Caroll's novel Sylvie and Bruno Concluded:

> Mein Herr looked so thoroughly bewildered that I thought it best to change the subject. "What a useful thing a pocket-map is!" I remarked.
>
> "That's another thing we've learned from *your* Nation," said Mein Herr, "map-making". But we're carried it much further than you. "What do you consider the *largest* map that would be really useful?"
>
> "About six inches to the mile."
>
> "Only six inches!" exclaimed Mein Herr. "We very soon got to six *yards* to the mile. Then we tried a *hundred* yards to the mile. And then came the grandest idea of all! We actually made a map of the country, on the scale of *a mile to the mile*!"
>
> "Have you used it much?" I enquired.
>
> "It has never been spread out, yet," said Mein Herr: "the farmers objected: they said it would cover the whole country, and shut out the sunlight! So we now use the country itself, as its own map, and I assure you it does nearly as well.
>
> (Carroll 1893, p. 393)

Of course that was a telling but absurd example. No one really believes that map can stand for reality. However, there are other frequently employed methods of representations, such as popular television or film, which became so naturalized that most people accept them as true "reflections of reality" regardless of the fact that they are being edited or fabricated to be sexy, interesting etc. Therefore, I would like to point out that representations have a certain *power* since they have the ability to shape understandings, opinions, and perceptions. As Penhallurick summarizes Saussure's view:

> "The language we use has the capacity to condition our perceptions or even overpower our senses. It interacts with and acts on the "real world" somewhat

> like the way a software program such as Photoshop interacts with and acts on an image."
>
> (Penhallurick 2010, p. 113).

Some languages, such as Finnish or Hungarian, for example, are genderless, which means they do not distinguish between *"he"* or *"she"*. Finns have only "*hän"* and Hungarians have "ő", neither of which is capable for signifying gender. This then means that both Finns or Hungarians have already available to them a ready-made nonsexist generate third person singular pronoun, whereas English speakers have to make do with clumsy formulations like *"He or She"* (Penhallurick 2010, p. 113). This is very important in the context of understanding textual representation. These languages can contribute to non-restrictive understandings of meaning to transgendered persons. To put it simply, these do not have to be excluded from the meaning even if unintentionally. Transgendered peoples may have slightly better positions in these cultures than others if we consider the possibility of the sex transition period, especially when many languages cannot reflect upon the transitional reality of the body in sex/gender transition.

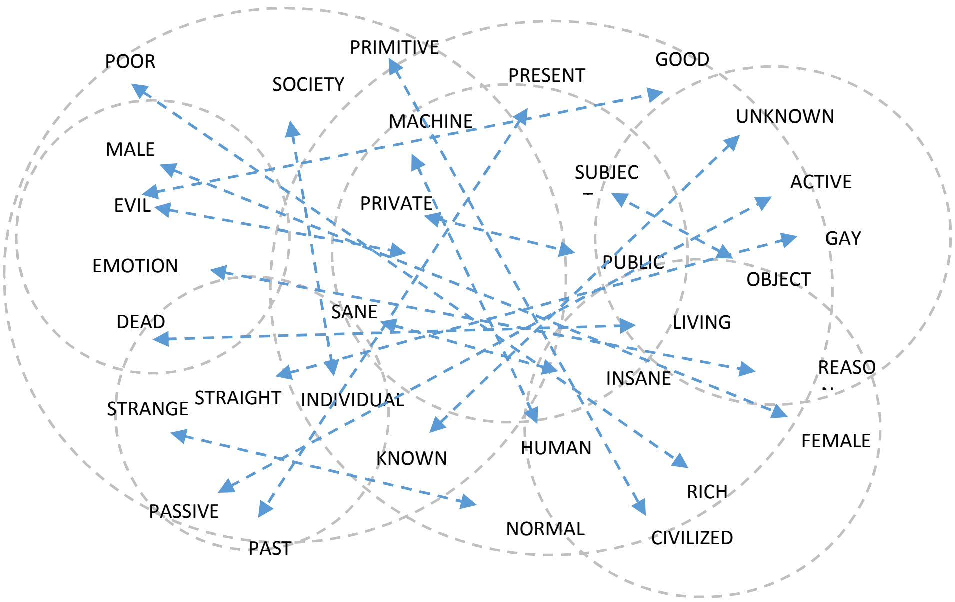
Penhallurick uses another example from Finnish to describe that the reality is indeed not understood (as in signified) by every language to the same extent. Finns have a word *"jälkihiki"* (meaning "aftersweat") that is used to describe continuous sweating after the experience of being in a sauna (Penhallurick 2010). The English language does not have such word; therefore, Finns may be more aware of this phenomenon and take their time before dressing up after sauna. This seemingly insignificant example suggests a rather significant fact that the local cultural and physical environment may lead different cultures to differing knowledges of the world and that their different languages may reflect this. This argument may be used elsewhere for implying a need for sustaining language diversity. It reminds me of a silly question I asked a deaf person a few years ago: whether the sign language is universal since it is new and could be made as such? I remember he said he would absolutely not want that, and now I know why he felt that way. Universality would surely reduce the diversity of deaf cultures.

MOVING TOWARDS POSTSTRUCTURALISM

Now it may seem intuitive to grasp that most of our *cultural reality* is relational and developed around words, which signify units (signs) of our cultural reality. In Saussure's structuralism, the meaning of a unit (sign) ultimately relied on the system.

For example, homosexual was understood as distinct from heterosexual or bisexual as male was from female etc. Nothing has any sense without the presence of others. Once a new unit (e.g. category) is created, individuals *have to* locate themselves in relation to others and judged within the concerned discourses accordingly (Penhallurick 2010, p. 117).

Figure 3: Selected binary dualisms, put in a web with only suggested other complex interrelations, positions are random



Source: author's own depiction

In Saussure's structuralist approach, the structure of a language (and of its meanings) was regarded as relative and solid. Each signifier was related to other signifiers and its meaning was thus made stable, without regards to their arbitrary "nature", and these signifiers were considered fixed. Ultimately, meanings rely on difference in a network with others. This view of reality was also a *modernist* view since it believed in the possibility of locating the truth, the *true* meaning of a respective signifier. I believe it is evident that Saussure was not very interested in the study of humans since he studied the underlying mechanisms of language (Murdoch 2006). He and other structuralists understood the development of human agency as generated by these underlying formations (language, structures, etc.) (Smith 2001, p. 98).

Saussure's work had a tremendous impact upon social sciences (Murdoch 2006). Perhaps even more famous than him, one of his successors was anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss who used structuralist analysis (i.e. analysis of the underlying structures) for his research on human cultures. In his *The Elementary Structures of Kinships* (Lévi-Strauss 1969 [1949]), Strauss broke down a large variety of human kinship systems into a limited number of types such as descent and marriage and theorized that the existence of universal incest taboo may be actually a primordial motive for sociability in human behavior (Smith 2001, p. 103). In his *The Raw and the Cooked: Mythologiques, Volume 1* (1983 [1964]) Lévi-Strauss further illuminated our understandings of the binary divisions. He attributed their use to a general human need to reconcile between the natural *forms* and the products of human cultures. The "cooked" thus stands for anything that is *socialized* from its natural state. Lévi-Strauss underscored that different societies and cultures have developed very different binary understandings, positively undermining their "universality", structuralist stability.

Later on French literary theorist and philosopher Roland Barthes published *S/Z: An Essay*, where he used a less formal analytical approach in order to study "Sarrasine", the short story by Honoré de Balzac. Barthes was interested in the relationship between the text and meaning (Barthes 1975). He pointed out that there is no single and definite meaning fixed in the text, and rather suggested an *excess of meaning* (Murdoch 2006). Reader (of the *text*) thus became an *active agent* involved in the process of generating meaning. This understanding was crucial for recognition of a meaning that cannot be simply extracted through a *scientific* study of formal structures (Murdoch 2006). By engaging with multiple meanings, Barthes moved structuralism towards *post-structuralism*. No one particular meaning could be determined or set anymore, but the multiplicity of meaning emerged as a *powerful* issue.

Tackling the *multiplicity of meaning* has become a major challenge that may be formulated by the following question: How can we engage with this unfolded multiplicity or excess of meaning[10]? One way is to have a look at Derridean thinking. As Judith Butler explains Jacques Derrida's ideas:

> "[…] our ability to understand relies on our capacity to interpret signs. It also presupposes that signs come to signify in ways that no particular author or

[10] It is important to understand the difference between semiotics and hermeneutics. The former is interested in understanding the ways in which signs mean (semantics), interconnect (syntactics) and are used (pragmatics), whereas the latter is concerned with interpretation (Oxford English Dictionary).

speaker can constrain in advance through intention. This does not mean that language always confounds our intentions, but only that *our intentions do not fully govern everything we end up meaning by what we say and write*" (Butler 2004, p. 32 emphasis mine).

Saussure conceptualizes the arbitrary relationship between the signifier and the signified as the two inseparable sides of a sign, which means that signs are derived from how they *differ* from each other. By understanding the language, it was then, according to Saussure, possible to distinguish and find the true meaning of each sign, especially if one understood its position within the system of relationships. However, French philosopher and postmodernist, Jacques Derrida resisted this view by introducing a new term *différance*, which according to him plays a crucial role in creating meaning. This term is a tricky compound of two words with similar pronunciation, to differ and to defer. The former is simple since it describes how, for example, a dog is different from a cat (each signifier is different from every other signifier). The latter is, however, more complicated. To defer means for example that when you think of a dog, it may be a concrete dog, an unclear mixture of many dogs, your dog, a dog that bit you in the past. Thinking about which dog sends your mind racing back and forth; it defers the meaning. In this way différance is essentially a deconstruction of the line between the signifier and signified in Saussure's sign diagram. Derrida thus offers a technique that uncovers the paradoxical and contradictory "nature" of text (language) in which meaning is endlessly *deferred* simply out of the reach (Chandler 1994; Derrida 1998 [1967]). In his version of post-structuralism published in his book *Of Grammatology*, there is no reality outside signification "*il n'y a pas de hors-texte*" there is nothing outside the text (Derrida 1998 [1967]). In this view signs always refer to other signs in a never ending *chain of signification*. According to Derrida, both signifier and the supposed signified are always elusive: What is it supposed to mean? It means to mean something. What is meaning then? Meaning is to have some value? What is value? It is about significance. What is significance… we are not getting to any definite meaning. We keep changing the signifier and the definite meaning eludes us. Derridean deconstructive approach thus destabilizes the "fixity" of signifier-signified[11] and renders the dividing line quite

[11] Consider, for example, relationships between signifiers (e.g. Czechia – Bohemia – The Czech Republic) and their "potential signifieds" (region of Czechia – Region of Bohemia – Region of Czech Republic). For a structuralist each is specified by other similar terms nearby, either on the level of signifier and signified, whereas post-structuralist would question this solidity.

slippery. Meaning is endlessly postponed[12], and reading begins to be a playful and creative activity in its deconstructive mode.

In some cases theorists like Jacques Lacan, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Ernesto Laclau or Daniel Chandler speak of an "empty" or "floating signifiers" that may not have any signified at all (such as mana, but also gender or race), meaning different things to different people, or mean whatever their interpreters want them to mean (Chandler 1994; Pluth 2008). Lacan has demonstrated this instability quoting Lewis Carroll's passage from his novel *Through the Looking-Glass*:

> "I don't know what you mean by 'glory,' " Alice said.
> Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't—till I tell you. I meant 'there's a nice knock-down argument for you!'
> "But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument'," Alice objected.
> "When *I* use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."
> "The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."
> "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."
> (Pluth 2008, p. 112)

If I was a semiotician, linguist or a literary critic, then I would be expected to continue in this rather "relativist" discourse further; however, I believe that I made clear that meaning is a problematic concept which uncovers many of the nuances in our understanding of the agency-structure relationship. This problematic relationship between the meanings of signs is also an important element for understanding *queer theory* wherein the signifier (the queer) is an elusive one and indeed means many different things to many different people. This quality of *queer,* which I will further explore, perfectly fits in the deconstructivist mode of post-structuralist thought being always out of the reach and yet productive as a sign with a great critical-theoretical, but also practical potential.

Meanings of signs are usually narrowed down by discourses, and instead of being open to difference, societies and cultures have restricted or prescribed normative ways

[12] For Derrida, différance means at once difference and deferral, deferring to the way in which meaning (signification) is dependent on what is absent. Meaning is endlessly deferred, and it is in this sense that language is an open system of signs, which means signs can never be self-present or ultimately defined (Salih 2002, p. 31).

of meaning. Understanding that meaning is not singular and fixed, that words do not represent but signify reality, and that they are actually dominant, restricted and prescribed ways of hegemonic meaning are important for connecting them to the crisis of representation.

> "Post-structuralism … [either as concept or as a body of theory] … refers to multiple meanings and modes of identification that emerge from the constitution of relations within texts and within cultures."
>
> (Murdoch 2006, p. 9).

CONSTITUTION OF THE (SEXUAL) SUBJECT

As I have explained earlier, language constructs[13] reality, and in the form of discursive power relationships, it influences not only use of our everyday language or the ways in which we understand it but also constitutes ways in which we are categorized, how spaces are regarded, identities constituted, etc. Consequently, language symbolically structures our inherently spatial lives. In this thesis, my primary focus is to understand geographies of sexualities. I will therefore explain how discursive power relations embedded in language shape the plethora of related significations. I tried to explain that the process of naming a *thing* and speaking it actually constitute it as a *real* within the respective culture (e.g. the names of the colors). This process is surely dependent on formation of *meaning* as it emerges from the interplay of the other signs within the system of language (discourse). It has to be understood that *reality* (whichever – spaces, places, things, identities, etc.) is in fact a cultural construction of meanings (re)produced and made legible for each and every member of respective culture through the acquisition of language[14] (e.g. learning what a word homosexual *means).* Relations between elements of reality and language (signs – either people, identities or spaces) are arbitrary, constructed and subjected to power-relations (symbolic relations – in Pierce's[15] sense), and this quality makes these relations

[13] I will elaborate this further on the discussion of performativity.

[14] It is crucial to understand language here *in sensu lato.* Homosexual is a word that is present in more than one national language, and when I refer to language, I am referring to it as a form of arbitrary structure of meanings. A related insight to this is offered by Berger and Luckmann (1991).

[15] American pragmatist philosopher and logician, Charles Sanders Peirce, a contemporary of Saussure, also formulated his own model of a sign. What is interesting to me here is that he distinguished three types of relationship between the signs and the objects of their meaning – iconic, indexical and symbolical. Iconic relationships *resemble* (a portrait of it, smelling like it, etc.). An example of this is onomatopoeia. Indexical have causal relationship (symptoms, recordings, etc.); a footprint or a smoke of a fire are perhaps good examples. Symbolic relationship is the last one, and it

discursive. Therefore, meaning is always in the process of becoming, languages are evolving, and representation remains always contextual and partial.

Relations, regardless of their immaterial character (signification), take material and *corporeal effects* that affect everybody's lives (e.g. identities, spatial choices, etc.) and by far not only those that they name. For example, culturally invented signs such as homosexual and heterosexual or woman and man can be understood as artfully created binaries whose relations concern everyone. By becoming a member of society, by socializing, or by learning the language (in its broadest sense), we either conform to each of these ideals and take responsibility for doing so or are punished for disobedience (Butler 1990; Berger, Luckmann 1991).

By inhabiting a world of cultural reality, we tend to forget that many cultural categories were created by language and have little to do with the actual reality or "nature". We tend to treat identities as natural, as if they have always existed. However, as I will demonstrate by focusing on homosexual, none of these existing identity categories is in fact real or natural (Penhallurick 2010). They all have to be understood as mere signs that become part of our everyday realities - languages. It is important to be reminded that regardless of the constructed and "immaterial" linguistic or semiotic nature of signs, they do have material effects[16]. In the case of homosexual identity, there are whole city districts, global world events such as pride marches, specific ways of metropolises branding, a segment of an economy (pink economy), second class citizenship (in terms of family rights, reproduction rights, care rights, possession rights, etc.) that exist because of this sign.

HOMOSEXUAL: THE BIRTH OF A NEW CATEGORY

Several sources prove that the "term" homosexual was *invented* by Austrian-Hungarian journalist and human rights campaigner Karoly Maria Kertbény roughly in 1869 (Foucault 1978; Jagose 1996). Another of Kertbény's chapter with this new term was about to be published in Gustav Jäger's book *Discovery of the Soul* in 1880; however, Kertbény's chapter was denied by the publisher for being too controversial.

is based purely on the arbitrary, conventional or normative basis. They must be learnt through letters in alphabet, words, phrases, etc. (Chandler 1994).

[16] Relationships form material effects trough proximities, privileges, expectations, rights, access, visibilities, activity, dangers, love, care, institutions, stereotyping, ridicule, attention, fear, peculiarity, belonging, ageing, inheriting, securing, relying, paying, consuming, and so on, and on… reaching far beyond the capacity of this text, limited only by the comprehension of the thinker trying to represent it either in her or his mind or by some form of a text.

Despite this setback, Jager still used the term elsewhere in his book and a few years later when German sex researcher Richard von Krafft-Ebing's wrote his book *Psychopathia Sexualis* (published in German in 1886 and translated to English in 1892), the new term became anchored in European psychiatric and sexologist discourses[17]. See fig. 4 for comparison of other contemporary naturalized identity categories and their respective term invention based on my review from Oxford English Dictionary.

This, of course, does not mean that "homosexuals" did not exist before the late 19th century nor does it mean that teenagers, left-handers or transgendered people did not exist prior invention of their respective terms. This means that prior to their naming, they were not necessarily excluded them from the rather amorphous reality of being human. So in a cultural sense they did not exist before (Penhallurick 2010). Following their social constructions, they became *othered* almost as if they were newly born subjects. Their othering takes place within the ever thickening layers of signifiers and signifieds positioning themselves in a system of language, within the expanding discourses. Understanding the relational nature of linguistic signs is crucial for understanding of constructions of their meanings (i.e. meanings of these newly created identities) and the ways in which they are being represented.

One of the key relations involved in both signifying and representing homosexuals is *heteronormativity*[18]. I consider it as a type of power-relationship influencing not only the meaning of the homosexual but also all signs that relate to it. Heteronormativity thus can be seen as one of the key relations negotiating the "binary division" between the homosexual and heterosexual. It should be no surprise that the term heterosexual was created only a few years after the coining of homosexual since it became needed as a counterpart to the newly created "lesser" sexual species: the homosexuals.

Seminal works of French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault, specifically his *The History of Sexuality: an Introduction* (1978 [1976]), illuminate this complex process of discursive production. Foucault's persuasive arguments were based on his archeological method (tracing the roots of discourses) by which use he uncovered that *homosexual identity* as a defining quality of an individual's very being. This was constituted only following the creation of the term homosexual. In previous times, "as defined by the ancient civil or canonical codes, sodomy was a category of

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[17] According to Jagose (1996), sexologist Havelock Ellis played a key role in rooting the term in English.

[18] I will pay more attention to this later.

forbidden acts; their perpetrator was nothing more than the juridical subject[19] of them" (Foucault 1978, p. 43 [1976]). By the end of the 19th century "homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and in morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology" (Foucault 1978, p. 43 [1976]). According to Foucault, homosexuality is a modern formation because the previous same-sex sexual acts did not correspond (signify) any category of identification. Psychiatric, sexologist and other medical discourses defined a new category of individual whose whole being was seen as determined by sexuality. Previously, "sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species" (Foucault 1978, p. 43 [1976]). Before this point anyone might have "succumb to then sinful, illegal and forbidden" acts, but they were not understood as characteristic of any kind of individual. Both "words," homosexual and heterosexual, were first considered adjectives – describing quality. This underscores their relational understanding since homosexual was initially created as a lesser being. Secondly, heterosexual was created in opposition to homosexual within the newly created semantic space of human sexuality (Penhallurick 2010). Being a homosexual thus entails primarily not being a heterosexual, and vice versa. This was then reflected in a delay in coining homosexual and heterosexual words as nouns.

[19] It should be noted that female homosexuality did not occupy the same position as male homosexuality in discourses of law and medicine. According to Jagose: "the internationally influential British judicial system – which during Britain's colonial period was adopted or enforced as the legal template in many other countries – criminalized male homosexual acts while ignoring the possibility of female homosexuality. The Labouchère Amendment of 1885, on which much current anti-homosexual Western legislation is founded, specifically outlaws acts of "gross indecency" between "male persons" but leaves comparable acts between female persons legal by default" (Jagose 1996, p. 13).

Figure 4: A selection of terms that following after their invention formed “distinctive” categories[20]

	Term’s first occurrence in Oxford English Dictionary		Estimate of directly affected population	Prevalent Connotation	Restrictions / Discrimination	Main studied relation of power
Homosexual	1892 (adjective)	1912 (noun)	4 – 10 %	Deviant, abnormal, promiscuous	Criminalized in Czechoslovakia until 1961, Sexual citizenship, access to institutions, blood donation, etc.	Heteronormativity, sexism, genderism, racism
Heterosexual		1920	90 – 95 %	Pure, normal, unproblematic, proper	-	Heteronormativity, sexism, genderism, racism
Bisexual	1914 (1824) adjective (previous meaning)	1922	1 – 2 %	Ambiguous	-	Heteronormativity, sexism, genderism, racism
Teenager		1941 (Popular science monthly)	5 – 10 % depending on age structure	Self-centered, problematic	Several legal restrictions apply, depending on age, e.g. control over one’s body, security, etc.	Adultism
Right-Handed/r	1398 (adj)	1885	90 %	Right, correct, proper	-	
Left-Handed/r	1870 (Southpaw) 1871 (Left-handed)	1881	10 %	Clumsy, awkward, sinister	Forced to switch, in Czechoslovakia switching legal until 1967	General discrimination, Ableism, Commodity variability, some cultures restrict the use of left hand for eating, etc.
Transgendered	1974	1987	1 %	Disordered, abnormal, ill	Right to one’s body, forced sterilization, medicalization, institutional and social invisibility	Genderism, Sexism, Heteronormativity
Cisgendered	1998 (not yet in OED)	-	99 %	Naturalized to the extent of lack awareness	-	Genderism, Sexism, Heteronormativity

Source: author’s work, inspired by (Penhallurick 2010) and based on the Oxford English Dictionary.

[20] It would be probably possible to extend this list to a long list of “binary identities”, Foucault for example in *Madness and Civilisation* (Foucault 1988) described how the concept of mental illness was constructed in the nineteenth century.

According to D'Emilio who investigated the "birth of a homosexual" from a Marxist perspective, the creation of homosexual identity was necessary due to progressive development of capitalism and its free labor system necessitated it (D'Emilio 1992, p. 5). In this regard it was also probably a consequence of the restructuring of the family and sexual relations following the triumph of urbanization and industrial revolution (Weeks 1977, p. 2 cited in Jagose 1996). The problem with human institution formation, cultural fixation of kinship systems (e.g. accepted forms of family constellations), etc. are all examples that inscribe material forms within the structures of cities and other spatial forms and since have developed a connection to these institutions and vice versa. These forms continue to shape or (re)construct these prevalent forms. This issue is an example of how and why intersecting approaches need to be involved in developing of their understandings.

Using the Saussurean semiotics, Penhallurick further explains how meaning of words can shift in relation to others. Demonstrating it on an example of a word bisexual which was first used in English in 1824 in regard to a person of two sexes, meaning the same individual would be both male and female. Following the coining of the term homosexual in 1892, the meaning of bisexual has been changed accordingly in 1914 to having adjectival meaning of being sexually attracted to individuals of both sexes. Bisexual became a noun in 1922 and the evidence suggests that this shift in the meaning of bisexual was prompted by the fixing of identity brought about by the terms homosexual and heterosexual and by the discourse employing them (Penhallurick 2010, p. 116).

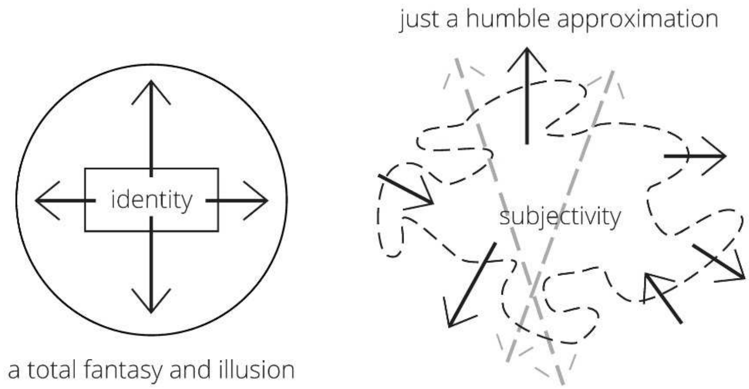
But how are categories are created, imposed, produced, or reproduced? Is there not a gap between the *"text"* and the *"act"*? This is a very complicated and seemingly elusive question of how words come about and language actually forms our identities (or rather subjectivities, as I explain later). How can a newly formed category organize our corporeal embodied lives, create and restrict us to certain spaces, exclude us from others, give us access to certain institutions, force us to or deny us rights, and so forth? To provide a comprehensive answer, I need to move on and build upon the established understanding of relational and "structured" character of language. Maintaining an understanding of our disconnection from the actual reality and of our *presence* in realm of language from which we cannot escape is cardinal. I will now need to let other strings of thought in, primarily the various feminist, psychoanalytic, and literary theoretical versions of post-structuralism.

Key feminist scholars have made significant contributions to the philosophy of science through their criticism of Cartesianism, specifically the existence of an alleged rational *subject*. Within post-structuralism, the idea of a Cartesian conscious unified, centered, rational, sovereign, scientific and aware subject has become completely annihilated (Jagose 1996, p. 82; Salih 2002; Butler 1993a; Lacan 2004; Weedon 2004). For post-structuralists, the idea that one is rational, devoid of emotions, completely self-knowing, or has rigorously theorized upon their claims parallels that of a fantasy. In this section, I will build upon the previously discussed feminist, linguistic and (post-)structuralist conceptualizations towards a conclusive theoretical and philosophical argument in the form of *queer theory* that stays behind my geographical understanding of geographies of sexualities and queer geographies.

According to post-structuralists, it is more accurate to talk about subjectivity rather than about an identity since *subjectivity* suggests plurality, multiplicity and flexibility, whereas *identity* is used more in modernist discourses that stress unity and stability (Jagose 1996). Regardless of this, both terms are used to the in a wide range of discourses; therefore, the boundary between the two conceptualizations is blurry and complicated. Post-structuralists conceptualize human subjectivity as partly *conscious* and partly *unconscious*. According to Barthes, our understanding of selves as unified, coherent subjects is only as an effect of *language* and representational codes (Barthes 1991 [1972]). Along this vein, Butler uses Derrida's différance and points out that if the subject is constituted through language then it must be always incomplete since meaning in language, as theorized by Derrida, is always incomplete and open-ended (Butler 1987).

Butler is meticulous with the depth of her analysis, and she openly roots some of her theorizations about the subject in phenomenology (mainly Hegel's), existentialism (Butler 1988), psychoanalysis, feminism and various post-structuralist theories. When she juxtaposes Derrida's understanding of subject with Hegel's subject, she crucially points out that Derrida's subject never reaches the point of absolute meaning or signifying, whereas Hegel's journeyer reaches its ultimate (dialectical) destination, absolute knowledge (Salih 2002; Butler 1987).

Figure 5: Schematic difference between concepts of identity and subjectivity



Source: author's own schematization

The fact that subject is not unified was perhaps predicted during the course of 19th century in the literature. Authors like Mary Shelley or Robert L. Stevenson in their novels cracked the completeness of "human subject". This is perhaps why both novels *Frankenstein* (1818) and *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) are so popular in psychoanalytic discussions.

According to *psychoanalytic understandings* of human personality development, individual's sense, feeling, or conception of "*his*" or "*her*", identity is an illusion. Identity is only a limited temporarily fixed particular mode of subjectivity (Weedon 2004, p. 19). And any identity, even those that "feel" natural like gender or sexual identity, needs to be explained as culturally available creations, possibilities that are enforced within the discourse and language (I will come back to this point in more detain when discussing performativity) and not as some sort of trans-historical, real or natural category (Butler 1993b, 1990). By the end of 19th century, Sigmund Freud was the first person who developed an influential critique of the rational and unified subject. His psychoanalytic theory of the unconscious has remained profoundly influential up to the present day. In his theory the subject is split: a small part of it is conscious but most of it "remains" unconscious. Therefore, this denies its unity and possibility for being a source of knowledge or truth (in contrast to Hegelian conceptualizations). Despite the fact that I will not discuss Freud's work here directly, I have to underscore his tremendous influence for the subsequent works of Jacques Lacan[21], Judith Butler[22] and Louis Althusser.

Jacques Lacan conceptualized his psychoanalytic understanding of human psychological subjectivity and the ways in which we are conceptualized, ways in which we understand the world, and ways we develop and understanding of ourselves around three major registers: *the Imaginary*, *the Symbolic*, and *the Real* (Johnston 2014).

The Imaginary is roughly a sphere of both conscious and unconscious images and fantasies, of self-awareness. It is a sphere in which we are able to imagine various binaries and dualities (e.g. man and woman, good and bad, etc.) convincingly as discrete; it is a sphere in which our imaginations convince us of the possibility of their separation. *Imaginary* bestows us an illusion of our (subjects') autonomy. The Symbolic refers to a linguistic dimension of language and cultural order, which demonstrates how Lacan was clearly influenced by Saussure. In this dimension language imposes an order in the (sub)conscious via customs, institutions, laws, norms, practices, rituals, traditions, etc. The Real[23] then is a very complicated concept of realm outside language, which is even, according to Lacan, "impossible to imagine" and as such it supposedly introduces trauma since it reminds us of the traumatic quality (materiality) of existence (Johnston 2014; Lacan 2004 [1966]; Dino 2011; Salih 2002).

According to Lacan, an individual is severed from *the Real* by his or her entrance into language (into the Symbolic). This *entrance into the language* is tied with acceptance of rules and *other dictates* of the society, and it is only during the neonatal state (until 6 months) when an infant does not perceive the separation between itself and the external world of others. It is a state of fullness, scramble-ness, completeness with no boundaries, no conception of self as separate (infant chaotically perceives,

[21] Jacques Lacan adapts Freud's ideas. He uses Freud's works, *Interpretation of Dreams* (1913) and *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901), as points of departure for his understandings of a symbolic order of language and applies it, together with Sausserian semiotics, to his understanding of the subconscious that is itself structured like a language (Lacan 2004 [1966]). Lacan's subjectivity is thus an effect of language.

[22] Judith Butler's thesis about gender constructedness and explanation of hegemonic heterosexuality are strongly based on Freud's works like *Mourning and Melancholia*' (1917) or *The Ego and the Id* (1923), specifically then for using his terms (introjection, identification, cathexis, etc.).

[23] It should be noted that his Real does not overlap with the colloquially understood "reality", which is only a construction of symbolic.

feels and needs). By the entrance into symbolic[24] order of language, a new "reality", built over the chaos of *the Real*, is instilled (Dino 2011).

It is a very difficult task to imagine “the impossible”, from which we were severed. Butler, for example, questions the existence of the Real (Butler 1993b). However, I am not to decide this, but I recall an interesting TED[25] speech (and a book) of neuroanatomist Jill Bolte Taylor, which may be helpful in this case. Boyle had “a unique opportunity” to study *the Real* (she referred to it as *La La Land*) when she experienced brain stroke. When her left hemisphere (important for the workings of the Symbolic) became temporarily disabled, she experienced a unique sensation:

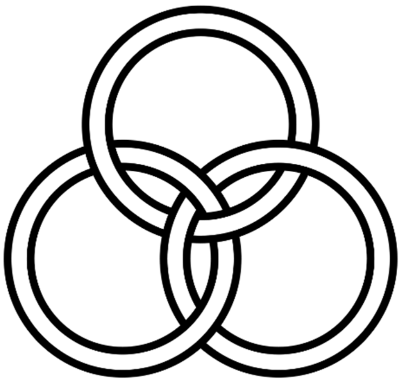
> “I look down at my arm and I realize that I can no longer define the boundaries of my body. I can't define where I begin and where I end, because the atoms and the molecules of my arm blended with the atoms and molecules of the wall. And all I could detect was this energy -- energy. And I'm asking myself, "What is wrong with me? What is going on?" And in that moment, my left hemisphere brain chatter went totally silent. Just like someone took a remote control and pushed the mute button. Total silence. And at first I was shocked to find myself inside of a silent mind. But then I was immediately captivated by the magnificence of the energy around me. And because *I could no longer identify the boundaries of my body, I felt enormous and expansive*. I felt at one with all the energy that was, and it was beautiful there. Then all of a sudden my left hemisphere comes back online and it says to me, "Hey! We've got a problem! We've got to get some help." And I'm going, "Ahh! I've got a problem!" So it's like, "OK, I've got a problem. But then I immediately drifted right back out into the consciousness -- and I affectionately refer to this space as *La La Land*. But it was beautiful there. Imagine what it would be like to be totally disconnected from your brain chatter that connects you to the external world.

[24] This is connected with his complex theorizations of the Psyché, so called “mirror stage”, the fragmentation of self, and other important moments in child’s psychosexual development, and a discussion on this material is outside the margins of this dissertation (Johnston 2014; Lacan 2004 [1966]; cf. Butler 1993b). However, it can be said that fragmentation of this “completeness” begins when an infant begins to understand that certain body parts (mouth, anus, penis, vagina, etc.) receive special attention (Weedon 2004).

[25] TED (Technology, Entertainment, and Design) is a global set of conferences run by the private non-profit Sapling Foundation, under the slogan "Ideas worth spreading". TED's early emphasis was technology and design, consistent with its Silicon Valley origins, but it has since broadened its focus to include talks on many scientific, cultural, and academic topics.

> So here I am in this space, and my job, and any stress related to my job -- it was gone. And I felt lighter in my body […] I felt this sense of peacefulness. And imagine what it would feel like to lose 37 years of emotional baggage! Oh! I felt euphoria -- euphoria. It was beautiful. And again, my left hemisphere comes online and it says, "Hey! You've got to pay attention. We've got to get help." And I'm thinking, "I've got to get help. I've got to focus." So I get out of the shower and I mechanically dress and I'm walking around my apartment, and I'm thinking, "I've got to get to work. Can I drive?" And in that moment, my right arm went totally paralyzed by my side. Then I realized, "Oh my gosh! I'm having a stroke!"
>
> (Taylor 2008 emphasis mine)

Figure 6: Borromean knot (rings) used for schematizing the connections between the imaginary, symbolic and real Lacanian registers



Source: Wikipedia commons, public domain

Lacan's Three Orders are elusive, mutually interlinked and constitutive. As depicted in figure 6, they in fact reflect an order; in the case that any of the tree registers are broken, the order would fall completely apart like a chain, such that no two parts would remain connected even if just one part would be broken. Psychoanalytic understanding of "reality" is a developing process, and one has to continually cultivate it. I believe it is crucial for developing a more nuanced understanding of our human subjectivity-identity development and the interlinked spatiality. Lacan's Symbolic is thus not just signs, or words, or language as such, but rather the rules behind it. If we leave the abstract linguistic metaphors and try to approximate it by concrete oversimplified examples, a game of chess may prove to be useful. In Symbolic order, chess is about all the possible moves in all possible games. It is thus a structural system regulating the possibility and impossibility within semiotic systems (languages, mathematics, programmer's languages etc.). In a same vein, tax laws and normative orders are all examples of symbolic orders that allow for everyday negotiations within their parameters, in turn shaping material reality, everyday lives, cities, streets, etc.

Imaginary then can be understood also as sort of illusionary certainty. It is an imaginary of *immediacy of recognition*. It is a match between our understandings of symbolic and what we perceive: for example, imaginary of the person you are having a chat with during your break is ”heterosexual” or that the individual across the street walking toward you has long hair and “feminine posture” to be female, etc. All of these examples are the Imaginary. Our understanding of attractiveness is imaginary. It is symbolically structured within various cultures (e.g. in marketing, etc.); it is picked up by the market who “sells” this idea of attractiveness. We all imagine ourselves in our self-imaginations in certain ways, but when we are photographed and the “reflection of reality” does not correspond with our imaginaries, we tend to reject it and respond “please, delete that picture. I look horrible there.” In a similar way, we do not like to hear our recorded voices because we imagine our sonic images otherwise. People have spent and continue to spend a lot of time within their “incorrect or unreal” imaginations, but still they structure or structured their everyday realities under that premise. Earth was believed/imagined to be flat, or every born child is still believed to be “heterosexual.” The “reality” is thus in Lacan's view only a montage of the imaginary and the symbolic (Lacan 2004).

The Real is the most complicated part of the Lacan's Order and remains largely a mystery elusive to explanation. This quality of Real, to be incapturable by the Symbolic (crudely by language) or Imaginary (crudely by our understanding or imaginations), may be grasped in the following examples from physics. In quantum physics, wave-particle duality is a phenomenon in which a seemingly corporeal (particle) element retains or has a quality of being a ray (a wave) at the same time, which is somewhat illusive to our “everyday imaginary logics”. Similarly, the Heisenberg's uncertainty principle sets the fundamental limits to our knowledge of reality in physical perspective by cancelling the possibility of acquiring both information about the position of particle or its momentum. Moreover, in quantum superposition, is Imaginary or everyday Symbolic somehow helpful in our understanding of the Schrodinger's cat experiment? How can something be both alive and dead? It is not my intention to delve into much detail here, but illustrate that if we were experiencing Lacan's Real, these questions would be perhaps clear since there is nothing “missing” in the Real.

To come back to my original intention of explaining subjectivity and summarize this section, it can be said that our sense of subjectivity as separate beings is rooted in our entering the symbolic order – entering the language. It can be then said that similarly to Derrida, Lacan understands subject in terms of linguistic constitution, having an effect that "the ontologically complete subject supposedly posited by Hegel is deemed to be an impossibility" (Salih 2002, p. 37). But how does language impose a subject onto an individual? How does one become a subject? From a geographical perspective I know that there is a regional dimension to this and in order to have an explanation and reasoning for spatial differentiation, I need to understand not only how a subject becomes a subject or that it is not at all a given precondition, but also how this category "enters" the individual and what role space plays in this matter.

French philosopher and structuralist Louis Althusser contributed influential points in order to illuminate these questions. He was inspired by Lacanian psychoanalysis but developed his theory by following Marxist[26] perspective (historical materialism). He thus focused more attention to the workings of power that are essential for my subsequent discussion and understanding of queer theory.

Most of the scholars admit that there are numerous possibilities for a subject(ivity) to become constituted as individuals and to develop understanding of who subject is and where one belongs[27] (Weedon 2004, p. 19). These various options are significantly curtailed, and in Althusser's view, this is due to the workings of *ideology*. His concern with ideology led him to conceptualize instruments of ideology as *"ideological state apparatuses"* (e.g. family, education, the law, religion, culture, the media, politics, etc.), which in his view play key roles in the process of becoming subject, referred to as *interpellation* (Althusser 2014). During interpellation (as in "hailing", "summoning" or "calling forth"), an individual becomes a subject within language and ideology. Althusser used a banal everyday example of everyday situation in which an individual hears a police officer or other voice call out "Hey, you there!" According to Althusser an individual will almost always turn around and by doing so he/she becomes a subject.

> "The one hailed always recognizes that it is really him who is being hailed. And yet it is a strange phenomenon, and one which cannot be explained

[26] The Influence of Marx's philosophy from 1840 onwards also contributed to the dissolution of Cartesian "sovereign rational subject". His writings were influential for the birth of radical and Marxist structuralist geographies.

[27] This has considerable implications for understanding regional or national identity construction, when considered as effects of mutually overlapping ideologies (Weedon 2004).

> solely by 'guilt feelings', despite the large numbers who 'have something on their consciences.'"
>
> (Althusser 2014, p. 264).

According to Althusser, this process of subject constitution, which takes place within language and ideology, is fundamental for human societies to exist. Interpellated subjects feel natural hereafter. Ideological state apparatuses then reproduce subjects, socially construct and institutionally assign the by-ideology-and-language-made available identities (Weedon 2004). Althusser saw identities as already constituted by ideologies; therefore, for him, there are no pre-existing categories, except for those constituted by ideology and culture (Jagose 1996). Before I move on to my geographical analysis, I will focus on contributions of two key scholars, Judith Butler and Michel Foucault, who have both fundamentally influenced post-structuralist geographies and illuminated the ways in which individuals are becoming gendered and sexualized subjects and how they develop their sense of gender or sexual identities. After I explain their rationales of *how*, I will pay attention to the more geographical *where*.

GENDER

One of the first important contributions of feminist scholarship was pointing out the distinction between *sex* and *gender*. According to feminist scholars, sex refers to the biologically determined differences between males and females (e.g. different sexual organs, genetic information, etc.), whereas gender is a social construction of feminine and masculine traits (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 133). Male and women gender identities therefore began to be understood as products of a sophisticated language (cultural) construction, depending on practices that vary over time and space. A memorable quote from Simone De Beauvoir's is apt here: "*one is not born but rather becomes a woman*" (Beauvoire 1953, p. 267). Beauvoir built her constructivist understanding of gender on existential[28] philosophy and intentionality while she focused on the conscious. Currently, under the influence of post-structuralism,

[28] It ascribes human existence a unique capacity to reflect on their own actions and inscribe their actions with meaning. Conscious action is at the center of existentialism (Sartre). Existentialism is anthropocentric (world is human) and is based on the belief that human consciousness is separated from the environment. Existentialists are preoccupied with nature as "being"; this is illustrated in Heidegger's concept of *Dasein* – which refers to a distinct mode of being, as always "being there", "being in position" or more prosaically "being-in-the-world" (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, pp. 60–61).

psychoanalysis and postmodernism, this process of identity *becoming* (either a woman, man, gay or lesbian) is seen as even more complicated than this process.

Judith Butler is a leading feminist thinker, philosopher and a literary theorist, and her theorizations are considered as key elements of queer theory (Jagose 1996). She has gone beyond a socially-constructionist perspective; she is a *deconstructivist*. Most of her work during the late 1980s and 1990s has focused on deconstructive understanding of gender, sex and sexuality (Butler 1990). She was particularly interested in the ways in which wider societal structures and practices normalize, naturalize and instill particular gender identities. Butler rejects that biological foundations are sources or causes of femininity and masculinity, but rather argues that there are no essential foundations of identity that prefigures action (Butler 1990). In her view, even the categories of sex, such as "male" and "female", are not fundamentally stable or natural, but instead another forms of discursive productions that serve to make masculinity, femininity and in turn homo- or heterosexuality intelligible (Butler 1993b).

Butler applied Althusser's interpellation on the example of interpellation of sex and gender (Butler 1993a, pp. 7–8). Since she tightly linked sex/gender with sexuality, there is no way for me to avoid discussing gender when I understand it as parallel to *forced* assignment sexual identities.

> "Consider the medical interpellation which (the recent emergence of the sonogram notwithstanding) shifts and in fanned from and "it" to a "she" or a "he," and in that naming, the girl is "girled," brought into the domain of language and kinship through the interpellation of gender. But that "girling" of the girl does not and there; on the contrary, that founding interpellation is reiterated by various authorities and throughout various intervals of time to reinforce or contest this naturalized effect. The naming is at once the setting of a boundary, and also the repeated inculcation of a norm."
>
> (Butler 1993a, pp. 7–8)

An announcement: "it's a girl/boy!" thus actually interpellates the subject into a system from which there is no escape – *gender identity*. Here Butler adapts the memorable Beauvoir's statement "One is not born, but rather becomes a woman" (Beauvoire 1953, p. 267) into: "One is not born, but the rather one is called, a woman" (Salih 2002, p. 78). However unlike Althusser, Butler conceptualizes this process (interpellation) not unilaterally (that one interpellates and that is it), but she acknowledges Foucault's understanding of power as dispersed and multiple.

Therefore, in Butler's words, interpellation/power "does not always effectively enact what it names, and it is possible for the subject to respond to the law in ways that undermine it" (Butler 1993b, p. 122). This is one of the key arguments for discussing queer (see later).

Similar to Althusser, Butler understands that subjects are constituted (and regulated) within ideological, or *hegemonic* power-structures. Thus in her critical view a "girl" is not born a "girl", but is *"girled"* from the very first sonogram on the basis of whether she possess a penis or a vagina (Salih 2002). In this view she conflates sex and gender and understands both rather as effects and not causes of respective sex/gender discourses.

> "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being."
>
> (Butler 1990, p. 33)

This means that the body that was naturalized as "feminine" or "masculine" and was therefore made legible to most of us. From this perspective there is not an essential "natural" body but instead a "naturalized effect" of discourse, a discursive body. But why repeated stylization of the body? Butler stresses that the process of becoming a subject is not finite and simple, so it does not end or begin by some form of ceremonial interpellation. For one to become "he or she", i.e. to identify/feel/understand oneself as "a girl" or "a boy" and be understood as such, "her femininity" or "his masculinity" has to be continually performed in a *reiterative and citational* practices and acts that every day discursively (re)produce the effects of what discourses name (Butler 1993b, p. 2).

On this basis Butler articulates her *theory of performativity*. Both Butler and Beavoirve assert that gender is a process without an origin or an end, it is something that we rather "do" than we "are" (Salih 2002, p. 45). Or, more accurately, we are forced to do it due to the existence of hegemonic[29] regulatory structures or, in Althusser terminology, because of the ideology. According to Butler it is not possible to "be" without "being a gender". After all, there is no place in language for body without a gender. According to her view, all bodies are thus gendered from the very beginning, regardless the fact that there is no "natural template for a body" that would exists prior its cultural inscription. Gender discourses shape the materiality of

[29] I will explain later that by using Foucault's concept of power, hegemony is not total and discourses create space for subversion.

how a “female and male bodies” should “be”, different gender roles, different physical requirements and expectations, different occupations are all material effects of immaterial, discourses, cultural relations. Gender is not a source or a cause, it is an effect or consequence. It is a “doing” rather than “being” (Butler 1990, p. 25). In this view, therefore, it is actions that that produce who and what a subject “is” and not the way around (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 292).

The main purpose of this performativity is to create a coherency that would solidify on the surface of the body and make it look “real” (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 292). Taken for granted “*naturalized*[30]” identities like girl, boy, gay, or woman are far from natural, they only can come into being through performances.

But what performances or what acts? And what type of working or a process can create a gendered or sexualized subject through acts? According to Butler these are all sort of acts like ways of speaking, bodily comportment, ways of behaving, dressing, etc. that play key roles in constituting identities. In this view all identities are actually routinized *performances*, activities, and doings.

Here Butler draws on a *speech act theory* formulated by J.L. Austin and revised by Searle and Derrida[31] and distinguishes between two types of utterances (or acts): those that describe or report on something (constative utterances or perlocutionary acts); and those that, in saying, actually perform what is being said (performative utterances or illocutionary acts). Examples of constative utterances or perlocutionary acts are: “I out my shoes on the balcony” or “I picked up his toy”. Performative utterances or illocutionary acts are different when a heterosexual man stands, for example, in front of a registrar in a Register Office and after he’s given an opportunity by the question: “Do you take this woman to be your wife?” and utters “I do”. Then this “I do” is actually performing the action. A similar example is an utterance at the ceremony of naming a ship, or “I sentence you to death” (Salih 2002).

By adaption of this theory Butler asserts that sex and gender are always performative. Therefore, the body is never merely just described (I’m a *songstress*; This is my *daughter Emily*; *He* is a nice *boy*, etc.) but it is always constituted in the act of “description”(Salih 2002; Butler 1993a, 1990). By extension this is applicable to all contexts and identities. What is important is that for acts to have performative

[30] Butler in this context uses a term “illusion of substance” (Butler 1990).

[31] Namely on Austin’s *How To Do Things With Words* (1955) and his subsequent deconstructive reading in Derrida’s *Signature Event Context* (1972).

"power" they need to be permitted by discourses, ideologies, conventions, norms. In short, these acts have to "be" made possible[32] in culture and "present" in language.

Gender is therefore "*a corporeal style*, an 'act,' as it were" (Butler 1988, p. 521). It is a style that has no essential relation to the body. It "only" has a historical, cultural existence. Performativity is thus formed from a continual scripting of hegemonic social conventions and ideologies. Gender is a sequence of acts; however, according to Butler, there is no pre-existing performer who does those acts. There is no doer behind the deed[33]. Indeed this might sound puzzling: what is an egg without a chicken or an act without an actor? Actually Butler is not saying that gender is a performance. She makes a distinction between *performance* (which presupposes the existence of a subject) and *performativity* (which does not) (Salih 2002).

> 'There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results'.
>
> (Butler 1990, p. 25).

To describe gender as a "doing" and a corporeal style might lead you to think of it as an activity that resembles choosing an outfit from an already-existing wardrobe of clothes. We clearly do not live lives of "freedom of choice," as I have noted, gender is highly regulated within discursive hegemonic structures. We are living within the law, within a given culture, and there is no sense to state that our choices are entirely "free." Even if we think that we are "free," our "choices" suit expectations or the demands of our peers. The range of clothes available to you us is determined by factors in our culture, jobs, laws, income level, social status, etc. In other words, your choice of gender is curtailed, and even predetermined by the society, context, economy, etc. within which one is situated (Salih 2002, pp. 50–51). The perceived freedom of having options of being who we like to be is only putative. Subjects cannot freely "do" his or her "gender style" by his or her choosing. Our choices are always already narrowed and constrained within the cultural regulatory framework. In other words, gender is a "corporeal style", a sequence of acts, a strategy which may

[32] A brain surgeon cannot pronounce any people man and wife, and a priest cannot pronounce two teddy bears man and wife either (Salih 2002).

[33] In this contra-intuitive conceptualization, Butler draws on Nietzsche's *On the Genealogy of Morality: A Polemic* (1887) where he writes: 'there is no "being" behind doing, acting, becoming; "the doer" is merely a fiction imposed on the doing – the doing itself is everything' (Nietzsche 1998 [1887]).

be so routinized that has become unconscious, and has its cultural survival as its end. Those who do not "do" their gender correctly are punished[34] by the society (Butler 1990, pp. 139–140).

If a doctor says 'It's a girl/boy!' s/he is not simply reporting (perlocutionary act) what s/he sees, but actually assigns (performative act) a sex and gender to a body that can have no existence outside the discourse of gender. Discourse thus precedes and constitutes the 'I', i.e. the subject, femininity or masculinity is not a choice or a natural "thing" but a forcible citation of a norm (Butler 1993b) since there is no identity without language, or more precisely an identity that would precede language. It is crucial to bear in mind that there is no "I" outside language: identity is a signifying practice, culturally legible subjects are effects and not the causes of discourses, discourses only conceal their workings (Salih 2002; Butler 1990, p. 145). Gender is thus always performative and has to be performed. Under the lens of theory of performativity, gender is a process of 'becoming' rather than an ontological state of being and is discursive rather than the essential attribute (Jagose 1996). However, Butler insists that performative and discursive characteristics of gender do not contradict body being material (Butler 1993b, pp. 68–69). The actual recognition of construction or anti-essentialism does not entail that these do not have "real" consequences to "real" people.

Here I will recall Derrida's assertion that meaning is always deferred, always incomplete and uncertain. Under this perspective, the meaning of "femininity" or "masculinity" is never clear and certain, their recitation and performativity is thus vulnerable *re-citation*. Performatives, acts, and statements can thus be taken out of their contexts and used in ways that their original utterers did not intend. After all, according to post-structuralists (e.g. Barthes or Derrida), meaning is not in the hands of the author. Here I will quote extensively Salih, who explains Derrida's difficult reasoning:

> "This is what Derrida calls 'the essential iterability of [a] sign' which cannot be contained or enclosed by any context, convention or authorial intention […] Rather, Derrida asserts that signs can be transplanted into unforeseen

[34] A marginal example of this hegemonic convention may be the mere existence of words (that have of course discursive power) that punitively label "disobedient" (as in masculine) woman. Examples may be terms amazon, virago, mannish, etc. Even today, masculinity in women is still colloquially considered inapt, especially when considered in the context of sports (examples may be made popular cases of Amélie Mauresmo, Martina Navrátilová or Lindsay Davenport (Tredway 2013).

contexts and cited in unexpected ways, an appropriation and relocation that he calls citational grafting: all signs may be placed between quotation marks ('sex', 'race'), cited, grafted, and reiterated in ways that do not conform to their speaker's or writer's original intentions, and this means that, as Derrida puts it, the possibility of failure is intrinsic and necessary to the sign, indeed it is *constitutive* of the sign"

(Salih 2002, p. 91)

These have potential anti-normative consequences and allow for existence of instability, uncertainty and of queer. This means that discourse actually provides a space for its own subversion in which gender but also the interlinked sexualities (or sexual identities) could be reconstructed in ways that would challenge and *subvert* the existing power structures. Here a closer look at Foucault's understanding of power becomes beneficial.

POWER

According to Foucault, subjectivity[35] is an effect of networks of power. They are crucially not only of repressive power structures but also of productive and enabling ones. Power is "exercised from innumerable points" to no predetermined effect (Foucault 1978, p. 94).

As it is now clear, some subject positions and some discourses have more power than others, and this may be a primary function of linguistic constitution of binaries (e.g. homosexual x heterosexual, woman x man, etc.). Many *normative regimes*, ideologies or system, as you will, such as heteronormativity, patriarchy or heterosexisms are examples of these relations. Racism is yet another undiscussed discursive system which is built upon manifold mutually interlinked relations that positioned Western societies as superior. Consequently, subjectivities in the "Western" mostly white bodies nowadays enjoy a feeling of "universality, neutrality or even being colorlessness" (Weedon 2004). Other *bodies of* color are still persistently represented (as in representations) by *primitivist, orientalist* or *generally* racist discourses as exotic, spiritual, emotional, natural, rhythmic, hypersexual, etc.

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[35] According to Butler, subject does not wield power. Its agency is thus an effect of subordination; in other words, a subject requires power in order to be a subject. Without power there would not be potential for neither the subject status nor agency. The subject is thus an effect of a priori existing power relations (Butler 1997, pp. 14–15 in Salih, 2002). However these also function reversely.

other made to contrast with the normatively constructed "rational Western man" (Said 1978; Hiller 1991).

Under the impression of structuralism one becomes easily convinced that the individual has no power over the language and that human agency is somewhat overshadowed by the ruling relations in language. However, since language is a system of relations, we have to understand it in a sense of power, and hence understand it in Foucault's terms as both *repressive* and *enabling* (Foucault 1978). All power thus necessarily implies resistance to it. No one holds power, rather it is inherent in various discourses. Power is dispersed (across institutions, and practices of subjects) it gels[36] at certain points and dissolves at others; it, however, circulates in discourses (Jagose 1996, p. 81).

> "If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression."
>
> (Foucault 1980, p. 119)

For Foucault power is far from "black and white":

> "We must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies."
>
> (Foucault 1978, p. 100)

As I discussed before, Foucault (Foucault 1978) argues that homosexuality was created as a category at the end of 19th century. Medicalized, criminalized and ostracized, homosexual was in fact a dominant discourse. As a power relation, it has initiated a *counter discourse* of dissatisfaction which slowly grew in strength until "gay" and "lesbian" discourses were mobilized as specific political counters to the binarized and hierarchized sexual categorizations which classified homosexuality as a deviation from a privileged and naturalized heterosexuality (Jagose 1996).

[36] After all, this is the reason why Harvey's (permanences) or Hägerstrand's (domains) both conceptualize a possibility of temporary stabilizing of the spatial relations.

> "There is no question that the appearance in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and "psychic hermaphrodism" made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of "perversity"; but it also made possible the formation of a "reverse" discourse: homosexuality began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or "*naturality*" be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified. There is not, on the one side, a discourse of power, and opposite it, another discourse that runs counter to it."
>
> (Foucault 1978, p. 101)

In turn queer[37] became a product of specific cultural and theoretical pressures both within and outside the academy that questioned the convenience of feminine, masculine, lesbian, gay or even straight identities and pointed out to their limitations (Jagose 1996). There is no position that can be assumed outside the law; however, subversion of power of norms, identities, etc. is possible from within the existing discursive structures (Jagose 1996).

For example, the insufficient distinction between masculine and feminine was clearly exclusionary towards transsexuals who did not fit neatly within these *constructed and discursively produced* gender norms (Butler 1990). This in turn activated a counter discourse (originating both in and within the academy) that fought against this "genderism" (Browne 2004) and promoted for ways in which people who do not see their gender identity reflected in the prevailing binary between "masculine" and "feminine" could *gender disidentify* (Browne 2004).

SEXUALITIES, SEXUAL IDENTITIES, QUEER

In Butler's view heterosexuality itself is an effect of the sex/gender system, a discursive production. A heterosexually-based system of marriage is a cultural construction whose goal is to guarantee the reproduction of a given culture, the kinship system, and of human beings (Butler 1988; Lévi-Strauss 1969). This system then requires a number of strict rules: taboos that reproduce the bonds of the kinship system (e.g.

[37] Even though I will direct the rest of this dissertation to discussing sexualities and specifically queering, counter discourses and Foucaldian understanding of power are applicable elsewhere as well. Examples may be the "Black Power Movement" in the "West" in the late 1960s and 1970s that used a slogan "Black is beautiful".

incest taboo) and make its reproduction efficient. Normative heterosexuality is thus inherently connected with gender/sex system since the surrounding discourses are mutually supportive and force every member of society to conform to hegemonic, heterosexual standards for identity (Butler 1988). An individual is recognized as normative only in the case when s/he conforms to a strict dichotomization between male and female (sex) and performs a gender that matches to the sexed body (so that a biological male acts masculine, and a biological female acts feminine). Since this is in fact a *"heterosexual matrix",* the gendered individual needs to desire the opposite sex (Butler 1990). Understanding of this normative system brings more light to the stereotyping tendencies that produce imaginations that produce discourses of gays as "feminine" and lesbians as "masculine". Transgressions on the sexuality axis is expected to be followed by transgressions on gender axis. In a normative regulated system, the female sex is expected to be feminine and attracted to males, and males are expected to be masculine and attracted to females. This is the basis of normatively (re)produced heterosexual matrix and of heteronormativity (Butler 1990).

The post-structuralist and psychoanalytic understandings view subjectivities, gender (feminine woman and masculine man) and *sexual identities* (homosexual, gay, lesbian, straight, etc.) as only discursive effects of available cultural categories (Jagose 1996) that were forcefully[38] interpellated into our bodies and subjectivities and rendered them compulsory within the respective symbolic cultural orders. As I explained earlier, some identities have more power (privileges, rights, visibilities, variability, etc.) than others. Homosexuals became separated as less desirable, less powerful members of "traditional" societies. In many societies, however, since 1960s gay and lesbian liberation movement, non-heterosexuals are undergoing an emancipatory shift in which their "secondary status" is being reappraised (and whose spatial dimension is of interest to geographers of sexualities).

Homosexual identity employed massively within the psychiatric, sexologist, other medical or legal discourses was an imposed identity, an assigned identification. For its prevailing and undesirable medicalized connotations it is no longer welcomed as a term nor as an identity category. For these and other reasons, in 1991 the American Psychological Association refrained from further using *homosexual terminology* within professional discourses since it entails negative stereotypes, is unclear, and introduces negative bias (APA 1991).

Regardless of the fact that it is not my intention to provide a deep insight into works from a vast area of sexuality studies that provide an extensive account of human

[38] The forced "nature" of these compulsory norms is naturalized to the point that most of us feel "happy" about these; however, their problematic "nature" comes about when considering intersex people, transgender people, or other bodies.

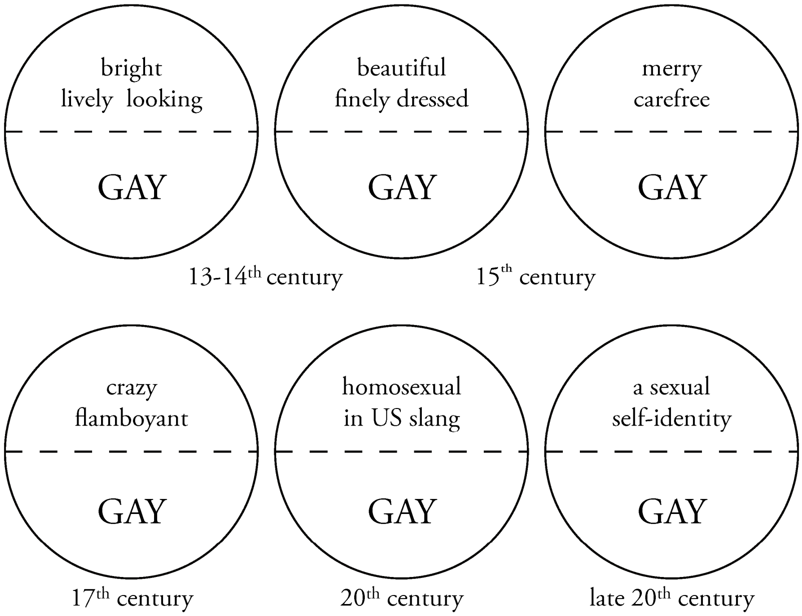
sexual identity developments, histories and activism (Jagose 1996; Chauncey 1995; D'Emilio 1992; Warner 1993), I will shortly introduce the main shifts in non-heterosexuals' identity developments that began during the late 1960s within mainly the US cultural context and was later followed by similar developments in "Western Europe" and elsewhere. The following movements are crucial for understanding the discursive developments on the grounds of cultural availabilities of sexual identity categories and the developments of queer theorizations. None of the following discourses should be seen as "revolutionary" since Foucauldian understanding of power/knowledge entails counter-discourses that are inherent part of all discourses. Therefore, the discourses that aimed to pathologize and criminalize homosexuality entailed discourses that sought to resist these views. Their power and potentials were, however, regionally and historically variable and dependent.

The major shift that I need to pay attention to is the *Gay liberation movement*, which changed the "semantic map" and shifted the previously assigned, medicalized, and criminalized homosexual bodies into the newly self-identified gay[39] and lesbian subjects (Jagose 1996). The "newly" formed gay and lesbian identities epitomized the "inherent resistance" towards the then systemic violence practice. Riots that followed the police raid in New York's Stonewall Bar on June 28, 1969 are considered to be a milestone in gay and lesbian liberation movements. Unlike many other occasions, this raid triggered a response in the form of riots, where a large group of gays, lesbians and their supporters stood against the police oppression and in defiance to systemic violence proudly marched in the New York streets giving birth to an annual events that are nowadays organized worldwide – as so called "Pride Marches, LGBT Pride Parades, Queer parades, etc.". Discourses connected with "*gay pride*" thus have roots in resistance to police violence and systemic abuse of non-heterosexuals that was prevalent in US (but also in other developed countries) during the 1960s and 1970s. The Gay liberation movement and the linked cultural (re)production of newly made available sexual identities (gay and lesbian), however, cannot be attributed only to police violence, but perhaps more importantly to the then growing dissatisfaction with the then existent homophile movements' incapability to challenge the dominant psychiatric representations of homosexuality as a sickness (Jagose 1996, p. 37). At the beginning of the gay liberation movement, its efficiency was increased by various synergies which related to women/feminist, lesbian feminist, and other then radical political movements that sought to implement major changes in human/civil rights. However, despite the fact that a

[39] Gay as a term has very complicated etymology and has undergone dramatic semantic changes during the course of history. By the 13th,14th and 15th century it had predominantly meaning of being "joyous, happy or bright", and by the end of 18th and 19th century, it became sexualized. During the second half of the 20th century, gay was appropriated by the gay liberation movement in the US.

small number of women had always been involved in gay liberation, or a small number of lesbians were involved in women's movement, lesbians felt increasingly marginalized in both giving birth to a separate *Lesbian feminist movement*. Historical differences between female and male non-heterosexualities (e.g. differences in criminalization, access to employment, income levels, etc.) have produced differences in political goals which resulted in formation of more-less separate lesbian feminist activism which prioritized gender, rather than sexuality, which was the main case in gay activism. Primary aim of political and cultural contest rendered lesbian feminist goals closer to women's goals than to gays' goals (Rich 1980). With a slight oversimplification it can be perhaps said that masculinity and relations in gays resembled male patriarchy and posed to be the main obstacle in forming a synergy between gay and lesbian feminist movements (Jagose 1996).

Figure 7: Semantic shifts of "gay" within mostly Anglo-American cultural context



Source: author's own depiction, based on Oxford English Dictionary

Both lesbian feminism and gay liberation movements promoted sexual revolution and assumed positions as civil rights movements aiming to secure equality for marginalized minority groups. Liberation politics had a superficially simple but complicated goal: to liberate individuals from the constraints of normative sex/gender system that lock people into mutually exclusive homo/hetero and feminine/masculine roles. Only partial success of these movements resulted in decriminalizations of "homosexuality" in several mostly democratic states of the US during the 1970s. In Europe similar developments in decriminalization of homosexuality took place with differences in their causality (see Waaldijk 2000), for example in many post-socialist countries, it was the disputable and crude achievements in sexology research on “homosexual subjects” that contributed to decriminalization of homosexuality by providing evidence of “the impossibility to treat homosexuality” (Seidl, Wintr, Nozar 2012). From developments on the level of human rights, medical discourses, politics and/or activism, from 1960s onwards, decriminalization [40]of homosexuality took place in most of the developed world.

Situation in gay and lesbian activism and liberation movement has however changed during the mid-1970s when gay and lesbian liberationist frameworks slowly gave way to increasingly favored ethnic models of activism and identity politics which emphasized building community identity and cultural difference.

> “From a broadly conceived sexual and gender liberation movement, the dominant agenda of the male-dominated gay culture became community building and winning civil rights. The rise of an ethnic model of identity and politics in the gay male community found a parallel in the lesbian feminist culture, with its emphasis on unique female values and building a womansculture.”
>
> (Seidman 1993, p. 117)

Similarly, albeit distinct, to an ethnic minority (as in distinct and identifiable population), lesbians and gays demanded recognition and equal rights within the existing social system. As Jagose explains:

> “Using the 'equal but different' logic of the civil rights movement, the ethnic model was conceived of as a strategic way of securing equal or increased legal protection for gay and lesbian subjects, establishing visible and commodified lesbian and gay urban communities, and legitimating 'gay' and 'lesbian' as categories of identification. The process of stabilisation—even solidification—enabled lesbians and gays to be represented as a coherent community, united by a collective lesbian and gay identity.”
>
> (Jagose 1996, p. 62)

It is this ethnic version of *identity politics* that (re)produced “gay and lesbian” identities that stood at the beginning of “failure” of this development. Discourses

[40] It has to be stressed that regional dimensions of the institutionalization of homosexuality is particularly diverse. As of May 2015, 76 countries criminalize consensual sexual acts between adults of the same sex. Eight countries retain a death penalty for same-sex sexual acts (Brunei, **Iran**, **Mauritania**, Qatar, **Saudi Arabia**, **Sudan**, **Yemen** and parts of Nigeria and Somalia) out of which those five in bold regularly implement the death sentence (Carroll and Itaborahy 2015).

connected with these identity politics gradually disenfranchised individuals who felt better represented by the previous liberationist model, mainstreaming within the "ethnic gay and lesbian models" that promoted a singular and unified gay identity. Despite the fact that the ethnic model of gay and lesbian activism was based on race-based politics, the newly established dominant gay and lesbian subject was *white* (Jagose 1996).

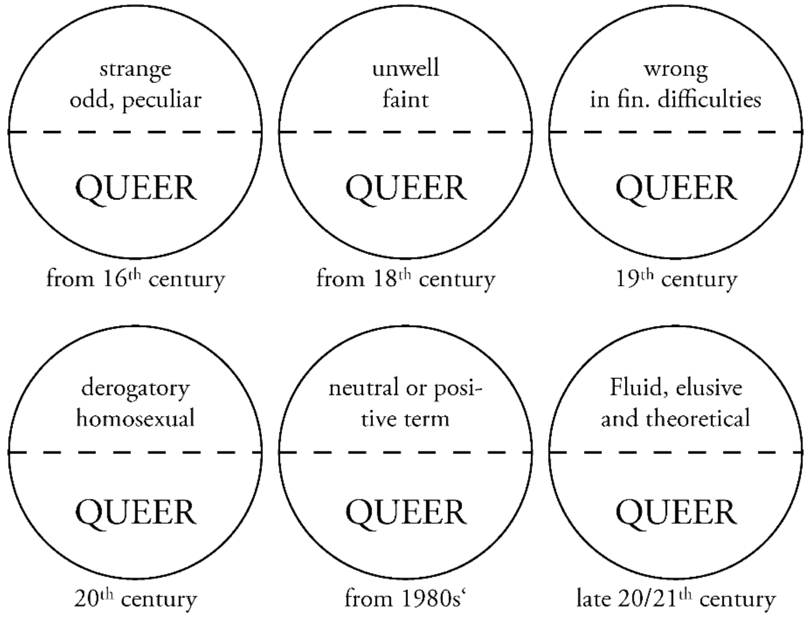
The ethnic model of gay and lesbian identity politics severely underestimated the levels of frustrations that it has caused in lesbians and gays of color, or in bisexuals, that felt dissatisfied with the ways in which the unified gay and lesbian identities were represented and how these representations ultimately omitted their own ethnic or racial communities. The subsequent critique of both overt and covert racism in the mainstream gay community thus came about (Jagose 1996). Slowly the notion of a unitary lesbian and gay subject which was indifferent to race became *destabilized*. Heterosexuality as opposed to homosexuality was complicated by critical understandings that questioned the formerly seemingly stable assumptions that sexual orientation "is determined principally or even solely by the gender of one's sexual object choice" (Jagose 1996, p. 63). The ethnic model produced an unwanted hegemonic binary between the "homosexuality" and "heterosexuality", or more accurately between gays/lesbians and straights. Bisexuality was an example of a "category" that, at first, implicitly during the 1970s and later explicitly, did not "fit in" the dualistic unitary gay/lesbian-straight binary. Gay and lesbian identities regardless of their certain degree of variability (monogamous, non-monogamous, open, close relationships, etc.) did not provide grounds that would sufficiently counter the unitary, normative models of identity. As Jagose explains *birth of queer* was perhaps an inevitable consequence of this:

> "The suspicion that normative models of identity will never suffice for the representational work demanded of them is strengthened by influential postmodern understandings of identity, gender, sexuality, power and resistance. These provide the context in which queer becomes an intelligible – almost, one might say, an inevitable – phenomenon."
>
> (Jagose 1996, p. 71)

Before I develop "the complicated queer," it is useful to sum up the previous development. It can be said that homosexuality was a term invented in the late 19th century, employed for "exclusion of a new species" derived solely on the grounds of sexual object preference (Foucault 1978). Its sexologist, psychiatric and other medically heavily pathologized connotations, which still resonate within the colloquial discourses, led to abandoning this term as an identity category in Anglo-American cultural regions (APA 1991). During the 1960s liberationist context in the

US, nineteenth-century slang term “gay” was mobilized as political counter to “homosexuality”. Having a much longer history and complicated etymology, gay epitomized a semantic contest, a success of semantic change that appropriated a vibrant term for a newly politicized sexual activist objectives (Jagose 1996; D’Emilio 1992; Warner 1993).

Figure 8: Semantic shifts of “queer” within mostly Anglo-American cultural context



Source: author’s own depiction, based on Oxford English Dictionary

As it became clear during the late 1970s and early 1980s, gay and lesbian ethnic identity politics (re)produced unitary, normative identities that remained exclusionary for those that could not fit in from various racial, ethnic, sexual, gender or other grounds. These normative politics produced debates, political pressures and widespread dissatisfactions among many non-heterosexuals (Jagose 1996; Sedgwick 1990). These discussions were picked up by the academy and slowly formed what, from the early 1990s, began to be referred to as *queer*.

For the sake of the lucidity of the following section I need to simplify that queer is employed in at least three different contexts that are often and will be mixed together to make it difficult to comprehend it.

1. As a critical theoretical, deconstructivist, post-structuralist approach related frequently but not exclusively to theorizations of various (sexual) identity categories.
2. As an inclusive umbrella term utilized and mobilized in activist and self-identification contexts for referring to those, mostly non-heterosexuals, but also heterosexuals, that do not conform to the prevalent normative identitarian categorizations.
3. A popular and most often commercially appropriated term used interchangeably with gay and lesbian, LGBT, or other identitarian categorizations eschewing from its theoretical connotations.

Queer, as a term, entered English language during the 16th century with "having a meaning" of being strange or odd. During the 20th century, in the United States, it became a popular derogatory term employed for abusing homosexuals, perhaps even pre-dating the use of "gay" in the related context (Chauncey 1995). These terms, however, must not be understood as synonyms since they are not just different ways of saying the same thing (Jagose 1996). Queer as a "new" category for "self-identification" or political contest became re-articulated during the late 1980s by activist groups such as Queer Nation and ACT UP, which wanted to draw a line between the assimilationist or liberationists gay and lesbian movements and rather formed a radically new more inclusive forms of activism.

> "'Queer' is not simply the latest example in a series of words that describe and constitute same-sex desire transhistoricaily but rather a consequence of the constructionist problematising of any allegedly universal term."
>
> (Jagose 1996, p. 72)

Former gay and lesbian movements were committed to building strong identity politics, assuming a firm identity as necessary prerequisites for political interventions – for gaining civil rights and equalizing themselves with the "heterosexuals." Post-structuralist understandings coupled with growing concerns with of the limitations of identity categories in terms of their political representation established queer as a new form of political organizing. Moreover, this political organizing was severely influenced by the paralleling AIDS crisis/epidemic. Queer in the form of activist groups like Queer Nation and ACT UP became a new political and radical formation that responded to growing homophobia related to the public response to AIDS (Jagose 1996; Seidman 1993). Public discourses during the late 1980s and 1990s created a dangerous discursive connection between AIDS and gays, representing the crisis as a "gay disease". This discourse remains persistent even today when, for example, in Czechia, gay people still not allowed to become blood donors since disclosure of adherence in the enumerated risk groups such as drug addicts, prostitutes, promiscuous persons, and "homosexuals" is mandatory for becoming a donor. This phenomenon remains controversial and is clearly related to the "fear from AIDS epidemic". Despite the fact that HIV/AIDS pandemic cannot be held solely responsible for the emergence of queer politics, it has to be stressed that it played an important part in radical revisions in gay and lesbian activism and politics.

> "Certainly debates (in what were once lesbian and gay contexts) about how to refigure subjectivities and identities differently have been partly reinforced and partly provoked by the new urgency generated by the AIDS crisis. Yet such debates about identity and the most efficacious ways of ensuring social transformation have been equally, if less spectacularly, energised by developments in post-structuralist, feminist and post-colonial circles. All of these have challenged the notion of a stable identity – not simply because it is a fiction but because it is the sort of fiction which may well work against the interests of those constituents it claims to represent."
>
> (Jagose 1996, p. 96)

Queer has however become much more than new activist politics. Since the term emerged from various academic and non-academic discussions informed by post-structuralist thought, queer has informed what is currently understood as "queer theory." Queer as an intellectual model, a mode of thought, is inseparable from its post-structuralist origins. It cannot be said that it has been produced only within the lesbian and gay contexts. Rather, it is a product of a wider late 20th century "Western thought" (Jagose 1996, p. 77). Lesbian and gay studies were and indeed remain impacted by queer theory the most. Additionally, other fields had built upon and contributed to the theoretical formation of queer. Feminists have, for example, problematized the category of "women" as unified or coherent (Riley 2003), and Butler employed a critical deconstructivist – queer – approach even onto categories of sex, rendering her approach theoretically queer and post-feminist (Butler 1990, 1993b). These approaches are not singular or dominant; they parallel other approaches prevalent in gender, gay and lesbian studies, which remain to conceptualize the existence of "the subject identity." They often employ these for a *strategic essentialist* purposes, rather than because of their resistance to post-structuralist evidence. In large part to feminist scholarship, "women" remains conceptualized as a single and/or distinct identity category, thus employing "women identity politics," which has been criticized by scholars from various fields of study including geography (Rose 1993; Nayak, Jeffrey 2011). This strategic essentialism poses a danger since it homogenizes, hinders difference, and renders affected groups easily targeted by their opponents (Gill Valentine 1993).

In queer theory the instability and indeterminacy of all sexed, gendered or even identified in other ways (e.g. deaf, ethnic, racial, etc.) is what is being stressed. Also in racial or post-colonial studies categories such as "race" or "ethnicity" have become queered and denaturalized (Gates, Appiah 1992).

As I discussed in the previous sections, works of Ferdinand de Saussure, Louis Althusser, Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Judith Butler and others uncovered that identity as a self-evident, naturalized, or "real" category is a persuasive cultural fiction, a myth, a fantasy (Barthes 1991; Salih 2002). Queer as a theoretical approach emerges from these structuralist and post-structuralist theorizations and began destabilizing and deconstructing the individuals' identity categories in the "real" world and this will have vast implications on my use of *queer approach* as a theoretical perspective in the following sections. I have also paid considerable attention to introducing queer theory in geographical contexts in the form of my published articles, which I will introduce in the following sections.

Because queer remains elusive, ambiguous and indeterminate term, it is crucial to understand its multiplicity and *excess of meaning*. In linguistic terms it may be said that queer has become *an elusive signifier*. From a theoretical perspective queer constitutes, or perhaps epitomizes the resistance towards meaning consolidation, and offers possibilities for various theoretical mobilizations (Warner 1993). From now on I will use the term queer, especially in its theoretical understanding, that has developed on the basis of previously discussed critical contexts of feminist, post-structuralist, psychoanalytic and other strains of thought that were meant to destabilize the category of the subject. I will conclude this section by quoting some definitions of queers from the pens of two influential authors in the field of queer theory:

> "Queer is a continuing moment, movement, motive—recurrent, eddying, *troublant*. The word "queer" itself means across—it comes from the Indo-European root *-twerkw*, which also yields the German *quer* (transverse), Latin torquere (to twist), English *athwart*.""
>
> (Sedgwick 1993, p. viii)

> "Queer is by definition *whatever* is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant. *There is nothing in particular to which it necessarily refers*. It is an identity without an essence. 'Queer' then, demarcates not a positivity but a positionality *vis-à-vis* the normative ... [Queer] describes a horizon of

> positionality whose precise extent and heterogeneous scope cannot in principle be delimited in advance."
>
> (Halperin 1997, p. 62)

RELATIONAL SPACE

Before I move forward to the discussion of the geographies of sexualities where queer theory, feminist and post-structuralist approaches thrive, I will complement the previous discussion with a more explicit geographical theorization in regards to not only "identity" but *space*. It should be clear that access to the forms of subjectivity and identity constituted for the individual within the various different discourses is structured through power relations of inclusion and exclusion, which are often based on visual signifiers of difference that acquire particular meanings in racist, heterosexist and patriarchal societies (Weedon 2004). By developing understanding to the relational thinking in geography we may by extension apply these knowledges on spatial thinking.

As a result of the cultural turn, "new" social geographies developed in Anglo-Saxon geographical contexts during the 1980s, and focused on the various everyday social-spatial relations, approaching identity, difference and meaning (Valentine 2001, p. 170). After having discussed both structuralists and post-structuralist influences the statement that *"everything is relational"* may lose its vagueness and its colloquial connotation of being an empty cliché.

The first people in geography who focused on the process of constructing identity and how it is relational and spatially dependent were feminist scholars (Rose 1993, p. 5). They understood that this process of constructing identity is indeed not voluntary and power-neutral: therefore, they focused on highlighting the ways in which femininity was and is being constructed as inferior to masculinity within the normative *patriarchal relations*. As I highlighted at the beginning feminist scholars also pointed out that knowledge is being produced as partial and situated. Many have thus remained excluded from the process of knowledge production, from the process of being represented, and so forth. By introducing the previous sections I wanted to point out in detail that differences are not essential but culturally constructed, "we scholars" partake on this since we occupy positions of power.

In addition to feminist geographers, Marxist and radical geographers came to understand that human identities, the meanings of signs, and spaces are not fixed, closed, or solid. Rather they pointed out that they are in a constant *process of becoming* and are dependent on various relations that unfold in them (Massey 1998). Doreen

Massey became among the first in geography to understand that space is never complete but is being produced within complex *interrelations* running through differing spatial scales (from local to the global and all points in between). She defined space as a sphere of possibility and *multiplicity:* "*without space, no multiplicity; without multiplicity, no space*" (Massey 1998, p. 28). Foucauldian understanding of power and discourses is at least implicit in her reading. Massey understood difference as always positioned in space, and contributions like these have helped geography rightfully assume place within the wider social sciences. How come after all that someone can think of something existing outside of space?

Here parallels need to be established. Similar to how human identities and subjectivities are culturally imposed possibilities, rather than essential qualities, spatial formations and various spaces with their meanings etc. are similarly constructed, or are normatively regulated and formed as legible to us within the various symbolic systems (linguistic, cultural, etc.). Psychoanalytical, wider post-structuralist or queer understandings to space thus need to be further developed and employed.

Even the stubborn critic of postmodernism and promoter of Marxist historical materialism David Harvey[41] understood that "order" in the world and spaces may be stabilized only provisionally (he terms these relative *permanences*) even if for him he conceptualized within the complex dialectical, continually unfolding open-ended processes (Harvey 1996). He and many other structuralist Marxists who were influenced by Marxist or Althusser's writings focused mainly on the study of spatial and social consequences as well as the effects of productive forces. For Marxists it was their ideological (and deterministic) belief in historical materialism that made the economic and productive *base* superior to *the superstructure* of secondary political, cultural and social formations (Murdoch 2006). During the 1980s and 1990s Althusserian explanations gave way to *critical realist* versions of Marxism, continuing with the previously set course of searching for causal powers of particular social structures while maintaining their goal within the modernist and structuralist margins and allowing for the uncovering the "final metanarrative" (Murdoch 2006).

Massey (1993) critiqued Harvey's prioritization of the capital relations (Harvey 1989) as insufficient for understanding of the complexities of spatial lives. In Massey's words:

[41] His dialectical understanding of materialism is considerably influenced by Marx and Hegel.

> "The degree to which we can move between countries, or walk about the streets at night, or take public transport, or venture out of hotels in foreign cities, is not influenced simply by "capital" […] and simply put, there is a lot more determining how we experience space than what "capital" gets up to" (Massey 1993, p. 61).

Also in Rose's (1993) view, space (landscape) was not only imbued with the power of capital but also with relations of gender. These late 1980s and early 1990s works are examples of geographers' growing sensitivity to the less tangible and less quantifiable or operationalizable relations of power. Massey developed her notion of *power-geometry* and pointed out that Harvey's *time-space compression* works differently for different social groups and thus is not homogeneous across space and time. Despite the fact that she was primarily making an argument for the *uneven development* in the world, she acknowledged existence of *multiple identities* (multiple identities of places) and stressed their relational "nature," making them both a source of richness and a source of conflict (Massey 1993, p. 66). "Each place can be seen as a particular unique point of social relations intersections" (Massey 1991, p. 28).

Massey's relational approach allowed for a dissolution of previous geographical conceptualizations of space as a *static container*. Moreover, she competently rethought the connection between time and space since spatial relations are results of historical activities of these relations (Massey 1993, pp. 67–69). In *For Space*, Massey (2005, p. 9) further develops her relational thinking around the concept of space, recognizing it as a product of interrelations constituted through interactions. Interestingly, she spoke of spaces as *spheres of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity*, of coexistence of distinct trajectories, and of heterogeneity. Most importantly, she saw spaces as always under construction, as "*always in the process of being made … never finished; never closed*" (Massey 2005, p. 9).

Similar criticism and conceptualizations that diverged from the "traditional space-as-container narratives" can be seen in Lefebrve's *spatial trialectics* or in related Soja's *thirdspaces* (Soja 1996). In Thrift's conceptualizations of post-structuralist geography, impacted by the crisis of representation, a non-representational theoretical approach for understanding the world as a kaleidoscopic mix of space-times that are constantly being built up and torn down, with some space-times being more durable than others that "flicker out of existence" (Thrift 2004, p. 91).

It thus can be summed up that once hegemonic understandings of space become a fixed "container," they give way to more recent understandings in which:

> "Any space or place, from the intimate space of a body to the space of the globe, are precarious achievements made up of relations between multiple entities"
>
> (Anderson 2008, p. 228)

> "Relational space is a "power-filled" space in which some alignments come to dominate, at least for a period of time, while others come to be dominated"
>
> (Murdoch 2006, p. 20).

For these reasons it is better to theorize *space as a verb or as a process* (to space) rather than a noun or a state of things (Doel 2000). This concept parallels that of "doing identities" and various performative modes of normative, relational (re)constructing of the social realities need to be made and bore in mind. Recognition of multiple identities in people was thus extended to multiple identities of places and spaces (Massey 1991).

All social science disciplines, including human geography, have been profoundly impacted by post-structuralist theory (Murdoch 2006). Post-structuralism broadened the range of social spatial phenomena and facilitated the use of innovative, mainly qualitative research methods[42]. Opening up new theoretical approaches enabled new spatial imaginaries. For some geographers, such as myself, this meant seeking out spaces that had been neglected by previous geographical traditions. Moreover, these geographers do not only want to study such spaces but also empower and give voice to social groups that have been neglected by conventional geographical approaches (Rose 1993; Murdoch 2006; Bell, Valentine 1995; Jackson 1989) or systematically studied the disempowerment and disenfranchisement in marginalized social groups (Harvey 1989; Soja 1996; Castells 1983). This greater focus on marginalization in post-structuralist geography is sometimes regarded as *geographies of resistance*[43]. In this dissertation I am interested in the spatial lives of those subjects who are being dominated in their everyday lives by hegemonic position of heterosexuality – by *heteronormativity*.

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[42] Writing style had also changed, putting more emphasis on the aesthetic and inventive character of geographical discourses and texts and less attention to the communication of scientific rigor (Barnes, Duncan 1992 cited in Murdoch, 2006).

[43] Geographies of resistance aimed to highlight how social groups and social actors work to subvert and appropriate space in the face of hegemonic tendencies with the system as a whole (Keith, Pile 1997 cited in Murdoch, 2006, p. 13). In due course, geography began to engage with multiple perspectives, multiple spaces, and multiple sets of (spatial) relations.

> "Scholarship in the field of geographies of sexualit[ies] is rarely descriptive or detached, but rather it emerges with a strong normative element focusing on changing dominant practices that have marginalized non-heterosexual forms of desire, lifestyle and sexual practice. Just as the emergence of feminist geography is closely tied to the wider feminist political movement, so geographers examining the production of sexual identities and spaces have been inspired by wider gay rights campaigns over the late-20th century."
>
> (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 158)

The sub-discipline of geographies of sexualities is a relatively young field that has blossomed during the past two decades, especially following the publication of a seminal collection *Mapping Desire* edited by David Bell and Gill Valentine (1995). It can be said that contemporarily sexualities are inherent in many "new" social, cultural, economic, political or regional geographies. Although this field has had to tackle with disciplinary *squeamishness* and *resistance* (Weightman 1981), today geographies of sexualities are taught in many, if not at most, colleges and universities in the UK and US while also becoming increasingly influential elsewhere in the discipline (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007, p. 1).

Initially authors pointed out the fact that gays, lesbians and other non-heterosexuals belong to the most marginalized and stigmatized groups in society, they also remained heavily underrepresented in geographical research (Bell 1991, p. 327). Feminist scholars began to provide criticism that specifically aimed at improving the underrepresentation of gays, lesbian, and other non-heterosexuals; subsequently, these omissions slowly became recognized and gave way to flourishing scholarship.

Due to some continuing opacities, I would like to clarify that geographies of sexualities share many commonalities with feminist and gender geographies and are often presented within the same chapters of books (Pain 2001). While they may be found in similar contexts, these subfields have become distinct fields of geographical inquiry and neither can be presented as an adjunct of another (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 152). Both fields are nowadays quite extensive and diverse since both strive to respect difference. This is also the reason why they should be referred to as plural. In the case they need to be united under some larger banner, authors offer terms such as the *geographies of resistance* (Murdoch 2006) or *geographies of difference* (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011). Moreover, since both developed during the cultural turn, they may also be at times comprised within the "new" cultural, social, economic, regional or political geographies, depending on their focus (Binnie, Valentine 1999; Valentine 2001).

The geographies of sexualities have gained a solid disciplinary position, which is evidenced by the existence of sexuality and queer research groups in two of the world most influential geographical societies: Sexuality and Space Specialty Group (SSSG[44]), founded in 1996 and associated with the Association of American geographers (AAG) as well as the Space, Sexualities and Queer Research Group (SSQRG), founded in 2006 and associated with the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers (RGS-IBG). The increased interest in the field of geographies of sexualities paralleled the growing interest in spatialities of sexualities outside of geography, such as within sociology, anthropology, cultural theory and so forth. Fortunately, due to the interdisciplinary nature of sexuality studies and to the openness of geographies of sexualities, leading scholars from other disciplines have willingly participated, for example, at the AAG annual conferences (e.g. George Chauncey, author of *Gay New York* (1995) in 1995 or Eve Kosofsky Segwick, author of many groundbreaking works including the *Epistemology of the Closet* (1992) in 1996) or have mingled with geographers at European Geographies of Sexualities Conferences every two years since 2011.

In the following sections, I will focus on connecting the previously discussed issues in regards to the field of geographies of sexualities, my main research interest, and answer several of the important underlying questions the reader might ask. Regardless that my primary focus is on sexualities, one can state that geographies of sexualities outstepped their original subject matter during their development (i.e. sexualities or sexual identities and their spatialities) and reached out elsewhere (Valentine 2010). Hence, geographies of sexualities may by definition broaden the horizons of human geography knowledge production, not only by actually employing in practice the various discussed theoretical concepts ranging from structuralism to most recent approaches inspired by queer theory, but also by providing space for representations of those social groups that have been systematically underrepresented or completely omitted (e.g. various non-heterosexuals, transgendered persons, or others).

[44] According to its members SSSG clearly seeks to "chart a navigable path through geography's heterosexual matrix for all geographers" (Elder, Knopp, Nast 2003, p. 206).

SEXUALITY AND GEOGRAPHY

Firstly, I need to stress that when geographers of sexualities talk about *sexuality* (or rather sexualities) they mean much more than simply individuals' sexual desires and behaviors (Pain 2001). Rather, they conceptualize sexuality as a *social relation* in a similar way to other axes of human difference such as class, gender and race (Panelli 2004; Ferguson 2013; Pain 2001). Traditionally, geographers have focused more on various *non-heterosexualities* (e.g. lives of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals) and the ways in which they are influenced by social, cultural, economic and political geographies. However, for the last ten years, geographers have become increasingly interested in investigating also *heterosexuality* and heterosexual spaces (McDowell 1995; Namaste 1996; Hubbard 2002).

In this part of my thesis, I will pay more attention to connecting the theories from previous sections and show how they are related to the discipline of geographies of sexualities, rather than on providing an extensive review of works published within the field of geographies of sexualities. However, I believe that my Czech readers would appreciate two of my publications in which I endeavored to provide such reviews (Pitonak 2014; Pitoňák 2014), whereas my English speaking readers may find other available reviews that provide even greater insights into this extensive field of study (Binnie 1997; Bell, Valentine 1995; Nayak, Jeffrey 2011; Binnie, Valentine 1999; Elder, Knopp, Nast 2003; Brown, Knopp 2003; Brown 2012, 2013; Browne, Lim, Brown 2007; Browne, Nash 2012; Johnston, Longhurst 2009).

WHAT DOES GEOGRAPHY OR SPACE HAVE TO DO WITH SEXUALITIES?

This is a typical question I received during the past few years, and I believe I need to clarify its response. Geographers usually formulate this question in slightly different ways and ask: In what ways are sexualities geographical, or how have spaces and places become sexualized? (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007; Bell, Valentine 1995; McDowell 1995).

As pointed out during the discussion on theories regarding the human subject (or identity) or space formation, they are both relational and need to be understood as always unstable or incomplete. Space needs to be understood as a product of *embodied social relations*, of practices. Subsequently, it is this relationality between what our bodies "do" (or not "do") and the ways in which these "practices" are connected to norms that regulate "conduct", "uses" or "meanings" of various spaces that have to be investigated (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007). The discussion on Butler's theory of performativity with its conceptualization of various acts, performances, routinizations, internalizations can conveniently be applied to developing an understanding of the ways *norms* become enacted and made legible in various spaces.

Various norms regulate acceptable (sexual) behavior in different spaces (either public, private, commercial, etc.). However, these norms usually take the form of unspoken understandings. After all there are no labels that tell us to keep dressed or not to engage in intercourse while seated in public transport. Even if these norms are often unspoken, they are *enforceable* by both official authority (for example, by the police, by teachers or by doctors) and by interventions of passers-by (either verbal or in form of punitive looks).

Displays of sexual desire are therefore regulated quite firmly and all of us negotiate this "regulatory boundary" by each and every understanding; for example, we understand that a kiss is acceptable but engaging in intercourse might not be. The workings of these "unspoken understandings" have been investigated by several scholars, perhaps most influentially by Foucault who pointed out that these "understandings" are actually "internalized" workings of *power / discourses* that have been designed by institutions[45] in order to be not only *repressive*[46] and "localized", but *productive* and thus decentralized and (re)produced among each and every member of society (Foucault 1977, 1980). Foucault borrowed Jeremy Bentham's panoptic prison design to make the concept accessible in the form of a metaphor. Foucault's *panopticon* described a state of things in which individuals are set in profoundly institutionalized world wherein they cannot be certain that there is someone who would enforce the norm or rule, (e.g. an authority) "watching", and instead begin to "police" their own behavior in accord to the knowledge that has been "made available to" them through these institutions and media[47]. Consequently, individuals are restrained in the cobweb of power/knowledge relations and enter into state of self-surveillance, that is they internalize the norms and become *docile* (Foucault 1977). McDowell explains Foucault's idea of *docile bodies* as:

> "The control, discipline and surveillance of bodies is particularly important in the production of what Foucault terms, "docile bodies", which conform to the historically- and spatially-specific ideas of what is normal and

[45] As you will see later in this section this also means by people or perhaps accurately by their ancestors.

[46] As once a public show of beheading by guillotine at the public square would have been, or still is somewhere in the world today.

[47] I will expand about the influence of media later in this section.

> "appropriate forms of the presentation of self and daily behavior in particular spaces."
>
> (McDowell 1995, p. 78)

Power and norms (e.g. as it normalizes heterosexuality) thus have to be understood as spatially diffused and not in some sort of centralized sense (Foucault 1977, 1980).

As it might be becoming evident, sexualities are not regulated (or self-disciplined) only in spaces where explicit sexual activity might be expected. Many other mundane spaces and places are structured by sexuality in ways that first had to be uncovered by geographers since they have become often *routinized* and *naturalized* to the point of being invisible or "normal/asexual". Spaces such as the *home* or *workplace* have been recognized as quite profoundly *sexually structured* (Gill Valentine 1993; G Valentine 1993; Gorman-Murray 2006; McDowell 1995, 1997; Kirby, Hay 1997; Johnston, Valentine 1995). Madanipour, for example, conceptualizes home as space for the psychosocial satisfaction of individuals (Madanipour 2003). For many people, including many non-heterosexuals (Kentlyn 2008), home is taken for granted as a place of comfort, a retreat from the world, a place to be oneself. Yet at the same time for some lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and especially for transgendered people, home can be a place of frustration and alienation shaped by the assumptions of heterosexuality embodied in their social relations with parents, siblings, neighbors or others who have access to their homes (Johnston and Valentine 1995). Furthermore as authors have pointed out, pervasive heterosexual assumptions often structure familial relations at home and produce various anxieties:

> "[H]iding lesbian or gay sexual desires and practices from parents is an understandable strategy when 'coming out' as lesbian, gay or bisexual might turn the home into a space of violence – violence meted out by parents and other family members."
>
> (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007, p. 3)

Browne et al. further explain that even without the prospect of physical violence, people's everyday behavior, identity, and practices still have to *negotiated* because they are being regulated by various forms of social or political "injunctions [directed] against lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and other sexual minorities (for example, overt social disapproval in housing policies, social security assumptions etc.)" (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007, p. 3). Furthermore, there are many other indirect means through which "normal" sexuality is being regulated. A good example of this is the everyday conversations that take place in workplaces, schools, cafeterias or elsewhere, most of which are overfilled by assumptions about the "normal" sexuality. For example, when someone asks you if you are married; have a partner; or whether you have kids; etc. all of these conversations "assume" the *hetero-norm*, not to mention the prevalent "homosexual" jokes (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007).

I will illustrate one of these prevailing heteronormative assumption on a memorable moment that I shared with my colleague Mirka. When I met Mirka for the first time four years ago (2011) we engaged in a "typical" introductory conversation (where are you from, etc.). After a few minutes of talking, she inquired about my field of research interest. I acted as if I wanted to interrupt her question by curiously asking her another question: "How would you ask me whether I have a partner or not?" Since both Czech and Slovak languages are gendered, she modestly responded: "Well, do you have a girlfriend?" Here, I responded to her: "Curious, regardless of the fact that I live in a same sex relationship," (about which she could not have known, coming from Slovakia and not knowing me in advance) "you presupposed that I am heterosexual and automatically asked me if I have a girlfriend… so part of what I want to study is why this the case, why expectations of being heterosexual are so pervasive and naturalized that we do not even think about the possibility of being otherwise, perhaps with exception of being in explicitly labelled "gay space" Even if this may appear to be a silly experience, we still remember this moment. That experience changed Mirka's worldview. Ever since, she became aware of this "heteronormative structural" quality of socio-spatial *order*.

Everyday workplaces, leisure spaces or spaces of consumption are saturated with images that encourage people to adopt "normal" (sexual/gender) identities (Nast 1998). *Exclusions* of "everything that threatens heterosexuality" are then a consequence of this *symbolic landscape*. Most adverts for a new housing development present young heterosexual couples sitting in their newly fitted kitchen or sitting with their smiling kids on the spacious sofa that almost certainly would not fit into most of the flats. Holiday brochures advertising for tropical resorts show young families walking along sandy beaches, depicting reveling moms, dads and their adorable young children. Similarly, most of the Hollywood movies still tell stories of a males in their search for "their girls" (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011). These are just a few examples of representations that indeed have *power* to (re)produce discourses and normalize the "good heterosexualities".

Picture 2: A "stereotypical" representation of "normative" family

Source: CC0 Public Domain, pixabay.com

All of these illustrations need to be carefully read through the lens of Butler's theory of performativity and Foucault's understanding of power since these "practices" actually constitute the cultural performativites in which the "Other" is being performatively constituted to heterosexuality and the very spaces in which this constitution takes place become heterosexualized (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007). By extension of this, the spaces at other scales including the regional, national and international become structured by sexuality. There are many examples of this, but for instance, non-heterosexual migrants are being explicitly refused to enter into various states[48]. Another example is that lesbian and gay relationships are not recognized on a legitimate basis for obtaining legal permanent resident status. Finally, explicit clauses (such as various defense of marriage acts, or explicit criminalization of "homosexuality") are being included in various state legislations to limit the rights of non-heterosexuals. These exclusions force immigrants to find alternatives ways to "move out together." They need to turn to other kinds of visas (e.g. student, tourist or work) that offer less stability. This need to find alternatives implicitly underscores the inferiority of sexual citizenship of same-sex relationships, denying them legal security or basis for long term formalization (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007). An

[48] Explicit discrimination against lesbian and gay immigrants to the US was removed only in 1990.

eloquent demonstration of this is offered by my close friends whom agreed to share their predicament:

> "This is a case of a same sex male couple which got married in January 2014 in New Zealand (NZ) as this country legalized the same sex marriage in August 2013 and the couple has been living there since 2005. They lived previously in NZ in 2003 and in Europe, including Slovakia and the UK from 2004 – 2005). The relationship began in 2003. Both parties (44 and 38) are NZ citizens, although the younger male originates from Slovakia and holds therefore dual Slovak and NZ citizenship. Due to family circumstances the couple decided to move to Slovakia in 2015; however, from the legal point of view this move is not without any complications. This is because Slovakia does not recognise any same sex marriages or partnerships, despite their legal status being approved in another country. Consequently, the couple's only way to settle in Slovakia for a longer period than 3 months is for the holder of only NZ citizenship to become a Slovak language student and apply for student visa. This can be granted for maximum period of 5 years based on ongoing enrolment and attendance of the language school and based on the recognition of this student visa by the police (only one Language School is recognised by the Slovak police. There is another option, once in Slovakia, to apply for working visa when the individual is hired. This working visa is issued for the period of the job contract. Foreigners can apply for Permanent Residency after living in Slovakia for minimum of 5 years. The issue with being a Slovak language student is that, each year or time of student visa counts only half of the 'normal' time. So 5 years of student visa is considered only 2,5 years towards the PR. Moreover, there is the issue of not having other legal rights (e.g. hospitalisation or in case of death), which need to be treated by writing up a will for instance. All in all Slovak citizenship and in this case EU citizenship is limited in this case as it fails to guarantee entry and re-settlement of a same sex couple based on their legal union recognized elsewhere. Unfortunately, there isn't any legal way to recognise an already legalised union."
>
> (Informants' own narration, unedited, written in June, 2015)

As I tried to demonstrate on these examples, sexualities, relationships, pleasures, and desires are strictly regulated by norms and institutions that have become either internalized and/or legally enforced. We cannot develop understandings towards sexualities without paying necessary attention to spatial contexts in which they are constituted, practiced or lived. These contexts, after all, make a big difference since they decide what bodies are allowed to do, and when and where they are allowed to do them; whether people can enter a country or not; whether they can be safe in particular spaces or not; whether they can assume certain sexual identities; whether same-sex couples can formalize their relationships; whether they can access assisted reproduction or gender-reassignment; and so forth. In my paper (Pitoňák 2013a) I closely focused on this contextuality and strove to develop lines of reasoning necessary for understanding the various ways in which non-heterosexuals negotiate these contexts. The results of my analysis can be found in its respective section.

A focus on geographies of sexualities thus necessitates developing an understanding of the representational, metaphorical, imaginative spaces and of the ways in which these become related to material effects that make a difference to people's lives. The most frequently conceptualized metaphorical space within the geographies of sexualities is "*closet space*," which is used as a *"metaphor for the concealment and denial of lesbian, gay, bisexual and/or transsexual (LGBT) lives and desires*" (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007, p. 4). "Closet" became one of the most important terms in geographies of sexualities but also in wider social sciences and humanities since it is informed by queer theory and makes relatable a complicated mode of spatiality it introduces (Brown 2000; Sedgwick 1990).

"Closet" needs to be seen as an effect of power relations and self-surveillance. It is an immaterial metaphor, but this metaphor is lived in "*very material ways through countless practical and political acts and through experiences of threat and marginalization*" (ibid, p. 4). It takes material forms at a number of scales, from the body to the "gay bar" to the nation (Brown 2000; Hubbard 2002). "Closet" has little meaning without an understanding that *sexuality is not inscribed into our body*, which allows for possibility for developing "strategies of passing" as "straight" from time to time and from place to place. I have closely analyzed the inherent spatiality of this negotiation in my third published paper (Pitoňák 2013a). Within the context of "passing," Valentine explores the diverse ways in which lesbians negotiate their sexual identities in everyday spaces and by doing so avoid the "public gaze" (or other discussed form of norm enforcement) at certain places and certain times. By negotiating their sexual identities Valentine's lesbian respondents have not only refrained themselves from showing sexual affection (such as holding hands or kissing in some spaces) but have "passed as straight" in certain places and spaces (Gill Valentine 1993).

> "Prejudice, stigma and violence directed at homosexuals in these everyday situations forces many lesbians to conceal their sexuality in different time/space frameworks by negotiating heterosexual or asexual identities. This option to attempts to 'pass' as heterosexual rather than disclose a gay sexual identity is aided by inaccurate and negative images of lesbians."
>
> (Gill Valentine 1993)

This exemplifies that sexual identities are thus far from rigid and far from being fixed somewhere at the "homo-hetero" binary. Sexual identities may be actively hidden, suppressed, multiplied or performed in many different ways – this fact extends the very horizons of our understandings of human agency in human geography. Moreover, Valentine's work reminds us that it is not possible or at least questionable to map sexual identities and practices since they are not fixed in space. Passing as "straight" and understanding of that sexual identities are flexible and therefore brings geographical evidence that challenges the validity of popular psychological idea of "coming out[49]" as a temporal event. My third published article expands upon this critique in detail. Here Valentine explains why "coming out" needs to be problematized:

> "This process of 'coming out' is usually conceived as a duality: a gay person is either 'out' and living a completely open lifestyle amongst the gay community, or 'in the closet' and completely secretive about their sexuality and isolated from other gay people. Alternatively, it is thought to be an unfolding narrative as the person 'comes out' in more and more spheres of their life. But in fact the lesbians interviewed perceived that different people and organizations will react differently and therefore they negotiate different and contradictory sexual identities in different time/space frameworks."
>
> (Gill Valentine 1993)

However, as Kirby and Hay (1997) pointed out, the very practices of either *hiding* "in the closet" or passing as straight, in turn, reinforces the spatial supremacy and *hegemony of heterosexuality* over gay or lesbian identities and perpetuates their invisibility in everyday spaces or excludes them into gay-specific areas. Passing, "closeting," or any other way that restrains the expression of individual's sexual identities resonates with Foucault's ideas about the ways in which particular

[49] Concept of "coming out" is closely related to the "closet" since it actually originates from an English slang expression "to come out of the closet" referring to admit (something) openly, to cease to conceal, esp. one's homosexuality (Oxford English Dictionary).

discourses shape the behavior of individuals and lead then to self-disciplining (Foucault 1978).

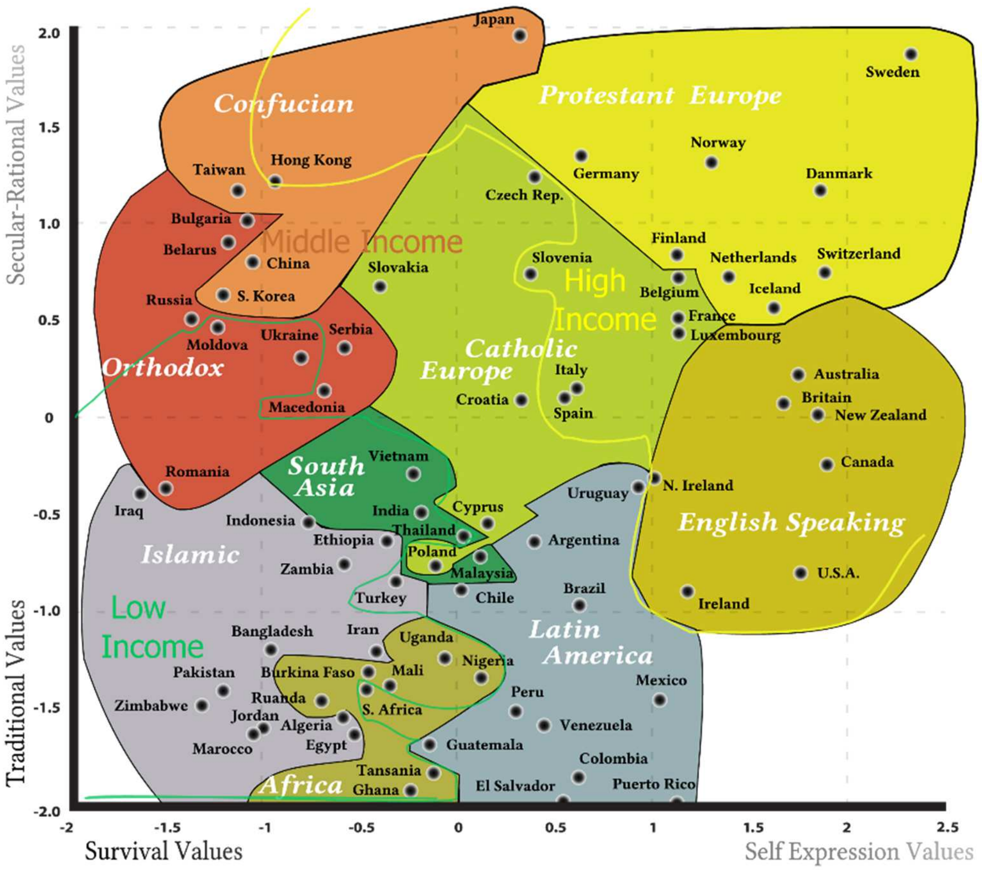
Evidence suggests that non-heterosexuality is and always has been part of human sexual diversity, being described in various societies reaching from ancient Greece (Halperin 1997; Foucault 1978) to modern Islamic Africa (Blasius and Phelan 1997). Moreover, as recent "becoming-conscious" of difference in other disciplines shows, non-heterosexuality is not some "human trait" exclusive to human societies; on the contrary, an omnipresent variant of sexual relationships can be found in most animal species and societies (Sommer, Vasey 2011; Bagemihl 2000; Poiani 2010).This suggests that every bit of it is as 'natural' as heterosexuality (Sullivan 1996; Pain, Barke, Fuller, Gough, MacFarlane, Mowl 2001). Yet, during the course of history, most societies have privileged and institutionalized heterosexuality and stigmatized sexual otherness (Pitoňák 2013a).

Gays, lesbians, bisexuals and other non-heterosexuals are, in terms of their affection or sexual desire, still stigmatized for "who they are" in the most parts of the world (see fig. 10). And this is not only the case of the more conservative, traditional or religious societies (Inglehart and Welzel 2005), but a prevailing everyday "reality" in most of the *secular*, *developed* countries where self-expression values (see fig. 9) have become prioritized (Pain 2001; Inglehart, Welzel 2005).

Even in *liberal* countries that have adopted various equalizing legislations (such as anti-discrimination laws, same-sex marriage, adoption and family rights, etc.), displays of non-heterosexual desire are rarely regarded as "normal" either in urban or other public spaces. Many non-heterosexuals thus continue to disguise[50] ("closet") their sexual orientation and sexual identities in public for fear of discomfort, homophobic abuse or any form of intolerance. Moreover, Hubbard highlights that even in those vibrant cities with established *gay villages* (e.g. Manchester, San Francisco, Chicago, etc.), it is still evident that most non-heterosexuals face routine *prejudice* and *violence* (Hubbard 2002, p. 367).

[50] My data on the Czech non-heterosexuals also corroborate this fact when most non-heterosexuals refrain from displaying (and performing) their sexualities in most of the public spaces, including those most subtle and inconspicuous forms (Pitoňák 2013a).

Figure 9: Inglehart and Welzel's world cultural values map



Source: DancingPhilosopher [CC BY-SA 3.0], via Wikimedia Commons

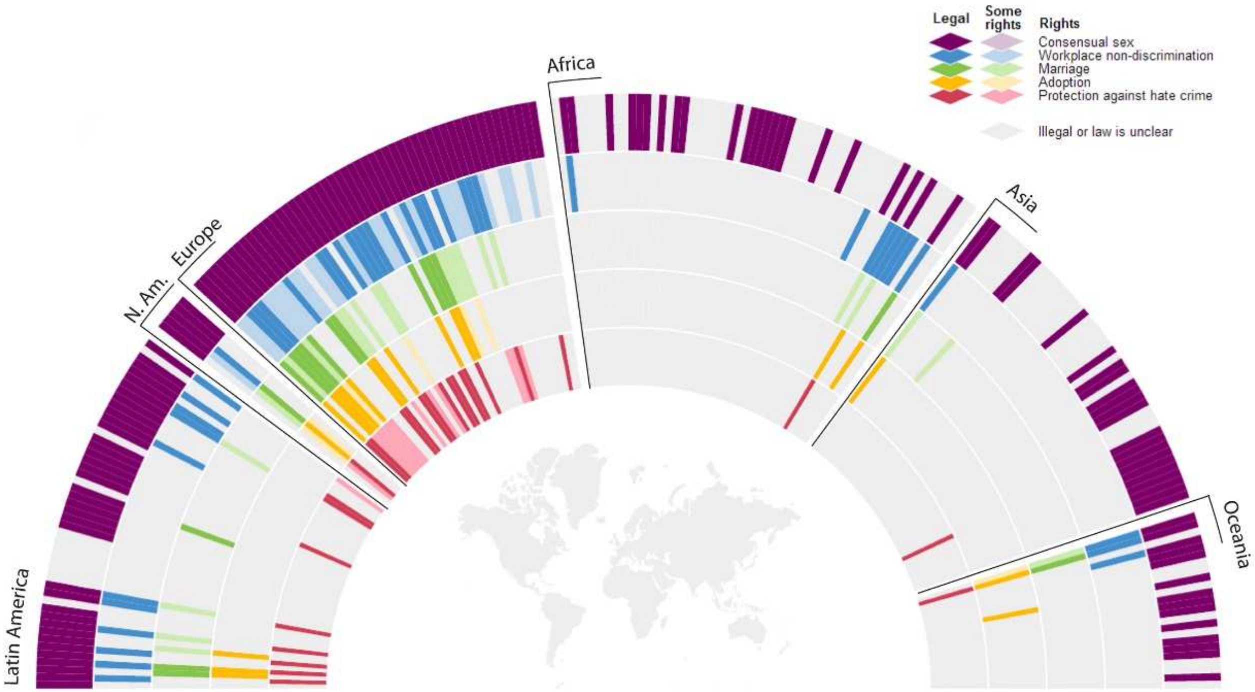
Family members, neighbors, fellow workers or strangers continue to oppress[51], stigmatize, silence or de-naturalize non-heterosexuals who, in turn, have to fight not to internalize this ideology (e.g. not to internalize homophobia). Until the late 20th century, non-heterosexuals were excluded from the public life. It was only until very recently that non-heterosexual families and households started to become accepted in some of the most liberal and progressive societies. Despite this progress, to date, 76 countries worldwide consider "homosexuality" illegal, whereof 8 countries reserve their rights to sentence "homosexuals" to death. In short, more than 2.7 billion people live in countries where being gay is a crime (Carroll, Itaborahy 2015). On the other hand, some states have equalized same-sex couples with different-sex couples

[51] Overt discrimination from physical violence and harassment, through discrimination by employers and housing providers, and various legal inequalities are still prevalent in most of the contemporary societies (Pain 2001).

in their right to marry or have granted them parental rights[52]. In the fourth article, we investigated this regional differences at the macro-level (Europe) and found interesting evidence in which this regionally-spatial cultural diversity takes material forms and "influences" the actual structuration of materially available "gay spaces". I will present our main results in more detail in its respective section.

[52] However even here, several spaces such as selected churches or pulpits are still explicitly reserved to heterosexual people (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011).

Figure 10: Legal recognition of "homosexuality" by region of the world



Source: theguardian.com[53]

[53] http://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2014/may/-sp-gay-rights-world-lesbian-bisexual-transgender#country:203

It the previous section I aimed to demonstrate how sexuality is spatially dependent and in what ways heterosexuality became privileged over "homosexuality". Now I will analyze this "privileging" and present it as a normative, institutionalized construct that entails systemic socially-spatially dependent oppression (present at every conceivable level) that has become one of the primary subjects of study in geographies of sexualities, or in this context, and perhaps more accurately, in queer geographies (Binnie 1997; Binnie, Valentine 1999).

This normative construct in queer geographies is sometimes regarded as *heterosexism* (Pain 2001) or *heteronormativity* (Pratt 2009). Since it does not connote "sex," I prefer to employ the latter term. As one may already be clear from the preceding discussion, heteronormativity should not be understood as some sort of fixed underlying structure or mechanism, rather heteronormativity is a complicated cobweb of power relations encoded in various discourses and practices which favor those that are sexually attracted to the opposite sex (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011; Bell, Valentine 1995; Hubbard 2002). Here are some of the applicable definitions of heteronormativity:

> "Heteronormativity refers to the portrayal of heterosexuality as the appropriate form of sexual disposition in contemporary society. It not only explains the marginalization of alternative sexual preferences but also points to the broader exclusions of questions of sex and desire from scholarly work."
>
> (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 151)
>
> "A social regulatory framework that produces binary sex division, normalizes desire between men and women, and marginalizes other sexualities as different and deviant. Much like whiteness, heteronormativity is naturalized so as to be invisible to the heterosexual population, but is a compulsory norm that itself produces nature; namely, bodies sexed as male or female."
>
> (Pratt 2009, p. 329)

Queer[54] geographers have pointed out that heterosexuality is normalized in society to the extent that sexuality itself is rendered invisible[55]. In my research I want to

[54] When referring to a geographer who is interested in destabilizing or denaturalizing some norms or hegemonic forms of relations, it is apt to use term "queer geographer".

[55] This fact has complicated the early scholarship in geography since heterosexuality was considered so normal and unremarkable that it was equivalent to asexuality (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 161).

understand what processes are behind this construction of heteronormativity and what allows us to negotiate it spatially. This brought my interest to the process of its enactment and continuous *institutionalization*, which I explain in detail in my third published paper (Pitoňák 2013a).

Here I found the seminal work on social constructionism written by Berger and Luckmann particularly useful (Berger, Luckmann 1991). In their argument they conceptualize the social *reality* as a "continuous sequence of typifications" (ibid. 1991, p. 38) where the relative permanence of various social structures or ways of conduct are solidified by the process of institutionalization, or when "any form of doing something, etc." becomes *stabilized* as an institution (controlling who, where, how often, when, does what in what ways, etc.). Institutions in turn become *objectified* by time (history) and become part of the "*objective reality;*" literally then a subjective and individual "this is how we do it" transforms into an "objective" and "common" "this is how it's done" (Berger, Luckmann 1991). In a very same way as Foucault, Berger and Luckmann underscore the importance of historical analysis in understanding the contemporary workings and meanings of institutions (e.g. such as family or sexuality).

Importantly in Berger's and Luckmann's view, it is the institutions that provide societal control, whereas if this control is to persist over time, each new member of the society (e.g. children, newcomers) must be trained to participate in the institutions and must be behaved during socialization phase. Education and tradition then become understood as essential for the maintenance of the institutional order. Moreover, according to Berger and Luckmann, members of the society tend to forget that institutions are human creations (this is how we do it) or constructions, and after time, they begin to relate to them as if they are natural objects (i.e. institutions become reified – this is how it is done, this is how it is natural, there is no other thinkable way, etc.). In this way, societies create social structures that seem "*real*" to us or seem part of the reality of the "natural" world. This understanding may allow the reader to see that sex, gender, sexuality or heteronormativity are not natural categories but are instead institutions developed and maintained by human cultures. Interestingly, in connection to the preceding discussions of linguistics and *language*, it is the language that is considered critical by Berger and Luckmann for maintaining of this continuity (Berger, Luckmann 1991). Because according to Berger and

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Institutional invisibility of heteronormativity was thus "naturally" a first step before any sort of geographical analytical engagement was possible (see more in the next section).

Luckmann language objectivizes, anonymizes and makes institutions accessible to everyone who shares it (Berger, Luckmann 1991, p. 44).

Each and every member of the society is thus initially and *primarily socialized* by entering the language. There is an overlap with Lacan's psychoanalysis and his understanding of Symbolic order, when "entering the language" means actually entering the world in which language makes institutions (now also subjectivities, senses of selves, norms, etc.) accessible and constitute what we understand as "objective" or "Symbolic/Imaginary" reality. Reality of institutions, where heteronormativity became "objectivized" as "natural" and thus made "invisible" according to Foucault, Berger and Luckmann, needs to be understood as the "reality of power relations" (Foucault 1980, 1978, 1977).

I am expanding upon this discussion further in my third paper where I connect these theories with other influential views within social theory that mostly differ in ways in which they conceptualize (and restrain) the human agency-structure problem, the workings of human (sub)conscious mind or the degree of individual's rationality (Giddens 1984; Goffman 1959; Butler 1993b). If this section did not answer the question of why heteronormativity became the dominant "norm," answers to any unfulfilled questions can be found in the preceding discussion or in the works of anthropologists and other theoreticians that have focused on this problem(Lévi-Strauss 1969; Foucault 1978; Beauvoire 1953).

QUEER, SUBVERSION AND DIVERSITY

Works of geographers and other social scientists have substantiated the argument that heteronormativity is not institutionalized in the same ways around the globe and that there are many places where we cannot speak of heteronormativity at all.

Before the onset of post-structuralism and queer theory, we understood that institutions and societal structures such as heteronormativity, patriarchy, racism and so forth rely on their constant maintenance and reiteration. However, prior to Butler's influence on the social critical and queer theory, scholars lacked the tools for understanding how these structures may change, how they can be subverted, and in what ways their contestations may actually be effective.

Butler's *theory of performativity* (discussed in the preceding chapters in detail) provided exactly this understanding. Dependence of institutions (by which I now mean norms, culturally available identities, understandings, etc.) on their constantly mandatory performative recitation/repetition seems lasting only until it has been understood in the post-structuralist context in which "meaning" can never be fixed, including the meaning of an act – repetition or performance of any kind. If we see someone from afar crying, can we tell whether s/he cries from happiness, pain, or grief? Similarly it might be difficult to be certain that when someone laughs hysterically and when they laugh joyfully, or when a kiss was meant as a joke or when it was meant as a show of affection. Under the post-structuralist understanding of meaning there is always a chance that our actions will be understood in different ways, and we cannot control it, ensure it since meaning is always deferred (Barthes 1975; Derrida 1998).

In Foucault's understanding of power, the phenomenon always already entails *resistance*. If we read this from a post-structuralist or queer perspective, then this means that every meaning of an institution and performativity already entails a possibility for its *subversion*.

Within more liberal societies, the regulation of acceptable and unacceptable (sexual) practices may thus be more easily subverted, contested or renegotiated than in conservative societies that enforce punitive countermeasures (such as public death sentences, etc.) and consequently reinforce fear, stricter self-disciplining, and censorship disallowing for certain knowledge/discourses to emerge (as in, for example, the various culturally available identities such as gay or lesbian). Since these norms rely on the reiterative performances (various acts, enactments, negotiations or contestations), some forms of performances can thus turn some spaces sexualized, heterosexualized (e.g. the celebrated parental bedroom, with the "babymaker blanket") or even homosexualized (e.g. gay bars) (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007).

Norms are not fixed and *unbreakable*, even though "we know what to do or not to do at the public toilet," there are still many who engage in other "non-normative" activities there that in fact help performatively constitute another set of "norms", even if just temporarily. Here I extensively quote Brown et al. who comprehensibly explain that:

> "What we do makes the spaces and places we inhabit, just as the spaces we inhabit provide an active and constitutive context that shapes our actions, interactions and identities. A consequence of this set of ideas is that we can never take a given space or set of practices for granted or assume that they are fixed. A home, a nation, a bathroom, a workplace – no space exists in a timeless state. Each is created in particular ways, often associated with sexualised and gendered norms and conventions that are historically and geographically specific. Not only are the places we inhabit made through our repeated actions such that we take their normality for granted, but these

places produce us precisely because we so often do what we are supposed to do – what is 'common sense' in a given place."

(Browne, Lim, Brown 2007, p. 5)

The performative understanding that norms are enacted by their constant embodied repetitions allows geographers to understand and study the effects of various queering spatial practices that are aimed to subvert and destabilize heteronormativity, make non-heterosexuals' bodies and lives visible, or just organized in order to constitute a sense of shared experience, history, community and solidarity. These *queering practices* take forms at various spatial levels. They can be simple chats, similar to the one I mentioned when I met my colleague Mirka for the first time, or take place in form of group kiss-ins that ,for example, happened last year in UK, when a group of supporters organized it to support a lesbian couple that was threatened to be ejected from a Sainsbury's store for "sharing a kiss" (Addley and Perraudin 2014). Perhaps most known are the large typically urban gatherings and festivals often called "pride parades" where the pride connoted the discourse I discussed while explaining the development of gay and lesbian movement in the US (Mason, Lo 2009; Kates 2003; Davydova 2012; Johnston 1997). Among other "queering practices" studied by geographers are "queer film festivals" (Binnie 2013, 2014), where there are at least two main festivals in Prague that are significant for their "queering influence."

Many geographers began to study many practices in a range of spatial contexts. My goal is not to provide an extensive review of them (which I do in my first two review publications) but to illustrate how these subversive or queering practices are diverse and studied by geographers elsewhere. Gavin Brown has, for example, focused his research on "Queereruption" gatherings, where queer anarchist networks strive to create spaces where sexual and gender constraints of daily life could become released, challenging not only those dominant forms of heterosexual but also homosexual behaviors. Hence these practices endeavor for construction of spaces which are non-hiarchical and participatory (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007). The study of "spatial practices" attracted the attention of many foreign geographers, which included some Czech researchers from outside the discipline of geography (Jahodová 2013).

In addition to the aforementioned examples of queer spaces, scholars investigated more tradition "non-heterosexual" spaces within the geographies of sexualities. Various gay bars and gay villages, which were initially studied as *ghettoes* in academic spaces in the United States, are both examples of spaces that came into being due to the contextual spatiality of heteronormativity. I intentionally pay minimal attention to other studies of these mostly commercial spaces since I introduced them in both of my first two review publications and because I want to step a little further out of these rather easily conceivable spaces. I believe it is not a challenge to understand why a “gay bar” has opened somewhere; rather it is perhaps more challenging to understand how its presence in the neighborhood may influence the ways in which people negotiate their sexual identities. I focus on this aspect in my third published paper (Pitoňák 2013a).

Before I conclude this section that was more or less focused on the queering of the spatial, I would like to underscore that performativity and queering relates to human subjectivity formation and individuals’ (sexual) identities as much as it does to spaces. Moreover, both have to be understood contextually and locally specific. Similarly, a “gay bar” perhaps means one thing if it is opened in New York and another if in Moscow. Therefore, gay and other sexual identities have to be viewed not as universal or “global.” Empirical case studies from various national contexts have pointed out that “gay” and “lesbian” identities are locally specific and without their critical understandings they may become “vacuous categories” elsewhere. In other terms “the politics of sex are always contextual” (Elder, Knopp, Nast 2003, p. 203). For example, unlike in many contemporary “Western contexts”, a “gay” identity in Indonesia does not excuse or release an individual from engaging in heterosexual marriage, since these “two institutions” do not conflict (Boellstorff 2003). In more “geographical” terms, it can be said that “gay” identity is not only being globalized but “glocalized” as well (Altman 1996).

Moreover, recent work within the field of queer geographies becomes more intersectional (as in understood as mutually influenced) when other forms of oppression come to the fore and underscore the fact that it was the notion of a (single) lesbian or gay identity and community that became unsustainable in both politics and theory – giving birth to queer (Binnie, Valentine 1999, p. 181; Valentine 2010). Here Pain eloquently shows on the example of gender how deeply intersectional it always is:

> “Whether you live in the First World or the Third, whether you are black or white, rich or poor, able or disabled, old or young - all influence your social, economic and geographical position at the same time as gender relations. But in addition, these other social identities also intersect with gender to influence the impact of gender relations itself. In other words, they work together to produce particular outcomes in different places and times. For example, sexual behaviour is structured by many social processes, the most critical of

> which is gender and the connections between gender and sexuality are crucial in understanding experiences of different spaces."
>
> (Pain 2001, p. 124)

As a researcher studying sexualities in Czech and CEE contexts, I therefore need to be particularly aware of the various differences that influence the ways in which local understandings of sexual identities became institutionalized, made available, popularly understood, practiced etc. (Seidl, Wintr, Nozar 2012). Here I would like to point out to the influence of popular media that indeed significantly shaped the ways "institutions become accepted or socialized" (Raley and Lucas 2006). During the first few years after the fall of communism in Czechia, it was movies that initially represented "homosexuals" in a pejorative, stereotypical representation: as deviant, silly, effeminate, etc. (examples of these may be pieces made popular by actors such as Bud Spencer and Terrence Hill - Who Finds a Friend Finds a Treasure, 1981; or by Jean-Paul Belmondo in *L'Animal* (1977) or *Le Magnifique* (1973); or by Steve Guttenberg's making fun of his adversaries in *Police Academy (*1984-1987). It has to be stressed that the popularity and influence of these movies is not to be underestimated, since they triggered a response in local cultures. Specifically, local filmmakers reproduced these movies in direct and unparalleled ways that essentially mimicked their content (including that of stereotyping), which occurred with a 10-15 year delay in Czechia. An example of this occurrence is a copy of Police Academy that took on the form of three Czech movies - *Byl jednou jeden polda I, II, III* between the years 1995-1999. These media representations are indeed "to blame" for not only introducing these "innuendos" into the popular discourses, but more importantly, for constructing misleading and stereotypical imaginations while reaffirming the dominance of heterosexuality. Even if these stereotypical representations slowly faded and were substituted by less derogatory, but still stereotypical, representations of homosexuals in movies, such as, for example, Mrs. Doubtfire (1993) who was depicted as "silly". A major turn towards representations of non-heterosexuals in more "accurate" ways was heralded only by relatively recent pieces such as *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), *Milk* (2008), *Prayers for Bobby* (2009), *Any Day Now* (2012) and *The Normal Heart* (2014). These recent movies "newly" assume and start to represent perspectives in which non-heterosexuals negotiate and struggle for their places in their daily lives. A recent example of this turn can be registered also in Czech filmmaking by *The Country Teacher* (*Venkovský učitel,* 2007).

It is clear that research of sexualities is inherently inter- or even trans-disciplinary and has the potential to point out how knowledge is being produced in ways that we previously imagined to be accurate.

Although most work so far has focused on gay and lesbian geographies, recent works continue to engage with bisexuals, transgender people and heterosexuals as well (Bell, Valentine 1995; Namaste 1996). Specifically, the absence of heterosexualities studies in geography has long been criticized for reproducing the notion that heterosexuality is unproblematic, natural and unworthy of explanation (Hubbard 2002).

Hubbard pointed out that far from regulating just homo-hetero or gay/lesbian-straight binaries, specific notions of "good" and "bad" sexualities (either homo-/hetero-/bi-sexualities) further implicate monogamous-polygamous, procreative-commercial, polite-perverted and many other axes involved in their everyday discursive regulations (Hubbard 2002). There are many spaces associated with both dissident heterosexualities (e.g. those revolving around red-light districts, sex-shops, swinger's parties, etc.) or the heteronormative heterosexualities, which, for example, can be found in suburban landscapes that when read through the lens of queer become understood as environments for heteronormative socialization, where the suburban home is a place where a women's subjugation is secured and ties them to a submissive heterosexual role (Namaste 1996). McDowell, for example, examines the role of the heterosexist body and its significance in shaping power relations in the workplace (McDowell 1995). By drawing on Foucault she examines the ways in which bodily comportment is being disciplined by the corporate environment, pointing out to the importance of specific gender performances in women. McDowell shows how "particular heterosexual performance of men, exacerbated by excessive "macho" behavior in dealing and trading and a particular paternalism in corporate finance" was required (McDowell 1995, p. 85).

These and many other studies have therefore demonstrated that it is not only non-heterosexuals' bodies that are regulated by various "norms" but also bodies of "heterosexuals". True, "heterosexuals" are being socialized into more-less "heteronormative" world; however, this does not make their realities "freer". Feminists have shown that women's bodies are constrained and regulated by heterosexism (Rose 1993; Bondi 1990). It is about time to find out how has men's bodies become regulated in intricate ways as well and see through the various "codes" and "ways" in which they must negotiate. For example, men have deal with figuring out the "acceptable proximity to another's (male) body", acceptable speech, etc. In short, in understanding what ways the "proper heterosexual imaginaries" about "maleness" and masculinity constrain also heterosexuals.

II. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

I have striven to make clear that openness towards various philosophies and developing sensitivity towards difference are important principles for being involved in post-structuralist human geographical research. I will start this methodological section by quoting what should be kept in mind when discussing research methodology:

> "Research is not a technical exercise that could be undertaken by a machine – it is a *human process* through which different individuals articulate their ideas, practice and desires. Therefore research is necessarily a political practice, since it involves negotiations between researchers and researched (who occupy different positions of power) and it involves advancing particular arguments about the nature of society and the possibilities of transformation. This point has been at the heart of much work within geographies of sexuality, scholarship that has sought to challenge homophobic attitudes and the privileging of heterosexuality within the discipline and wider society."
>
> (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011, p. 153 emphasis mine)

DEVELOPING POSITIONALITY

Research methods need to be considered according to researchers' particular objectives, skills, resources and of course to the characteristics of the studied population. But since I have discussed that research is not neutral, nor objective, nor disembodied but a *situated* and *embodied process*, a researcher's *positionality* should be considered as a necessary initial consideration before developing *reflexivity* of one's particular objectives, skills and resources needed for conducting a successful study of certain population.

Potential prejudices and stereotypes regarding the studied populations or lacks of familiarity and understandings may lead to negative essentializing, patronizing or universalizing of the otherwise diverse population subgroups. Misconceptions or preconceptions thus need to be dealt with, acknowledged, and overcome as these influence the research design and process (Freimuth, Mettger 1990; Barlow, Kirkpatrick, Stewart-Brown, Davis 2005). Researchers have to acknowledge their *responsibility* during the process of knowledge production, which is necessarily connected to complex power relations such as the researcher has control over the research design, data collection, and summarization of conclusions (Trauger a Fluri 2014). Post-structuralist modes of thinking explain that under no circumstances it is possible to guarantee the meaning of the text (e.g. statement, theory, model, explanation), the unpredicted understandings, and the alternative meanings can always find the cracks in (our) narratives; therefore, I am convinced that it is better to be aware and explicit about some interpretations and reduce the possibilities for those that may interpret this research in a harmful fashion. Rather than surrendering attempts for understanding society and culture, we researchers need to develop sensitivity, gain an understanding of embodied modes of research, and improve our ability to walk the fine line of staying *formal* and *traditional* enough on the one side and bold enough to admit one's own limitations, fears and motivations that indeed either consciously or unconsciously influence the research process.

MYSELF

Even if I am interested in "structural-like" relations (such as heteronormativity, and various discourses that "structure" our everyday lives), as a researcher, I do not feel myself to be a detached scientific observer who is about to discover some kind of "truth" that would not be apparent to other social actors (Smith 2001, p. 97), rather I see how a belief in detachment would have influenced me to believe in an unjustifiable illusion.

Hence, what has primarily influenced me in my position to this research is my inner drive to study a phenomenon related to my own life. I was raised in a heterosexual family; however, during the time of my adolescence, I slowly began to realize that my own sexuality *did not match the wider expectations* onto which I had been *socialized* by my family, friends, acquaintances, media, movies, series, fairytales, etc. I may say that even if it did not cause me any considerable trouble, it surely did influence me. I was made aware of not being properly socialized to be "normative" and initially made me "closeted". Gradually, I revealed my *unexpected sexual orientation* to my closest friends, parents. After some time I have *found* love, and started to live with my partner, with whom I had formalized my relationship after living seven years together in a stable relationship. My story might continue, and I could surely expand and strip[56] myself further. However, this is not my auto-

[56] There are certainly other facets of myself that influence my own work and it only makes me wonder to what degree these consciously or unconsciously influence my own research choices and decisions. Being a dog keeper, over 2 meters tall, educated, white, of mixed nationality, bilingual,

ethnography: it is my way of acknowledging that I am personally invested in my research since I literally have lived through many of the examples and conditions which I have theoretically written about or which I provide empirical evidence about. When I talk to my informants, I can imagine and understand their anxieties, imaginations and desires. However, regardless of the fact that I *feel* personally involved as an insider – a non-heterosexual – this does not make me understand or automatically make me an "insider". It is just another duality, an illusion of power-discourse, that I have to be vigilant about and acknowledge that there is even greater diversity among non-heterosexuals, among lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and other people who "had chosen" to self-identify as queer, etc. In short, being a non-heterosexual and having developed a sort of non-heterosexual identity, which may be approximated to what I understand as "gay identity," does not simply make me understand all non-heterosexuals. Neither does being a heterosexual makes anyone understand everyone who may identify as a heterosexual. Being non-heterosexual makes me perhaps closer and motivated to the subject of my study, but it surely does not make me understand it. It may just help me develop sensitivity to catch myself when I begin to stereotype others and, subsequently, reconsider my claims about others.

MY INSTITUTIONAL POSITIONALITY

One of my main goals is the development of the field of geographies of sexualities in Czechia, establishing the subfield as a subject matter relevant in local geographical academia. While this project is only at its beginnings, it remains my most ambitious but not yet accomplished goal. Despite the fact that geographies of sexualities in Anglo-American contexts started to develop during the end of 1980s, in Czechia and other states from the CEE region, sexualities entered the local *social-scientific* discourses only very recently (Kulpa, Mizielińska 2011; Takács, Kuhar 2007). Here my use of social-scientific instead of human-geographic in connection to these developments is intentional and aims to highlight the local institutionalization or positionality of geography as a scientific discipline, as such this differs from the one which is more typical in the "West". Rather than being part of social-scientific

young, childless, having formalized my same-sex relationship, able-bodied, and so forth this list may endlessly continue any I could spend my entire life pondering over and trying to accomplish a futile goal to understand myself, to discover a sort of subjectivity in its complexity – rather I admit I cannot become objective, I accept my partiality, my state of being biased, and do my research to the best of my ability within the discursive field of power relations.

faculties, CEE geographies have remained/become connected with natural-scientific disciplines (Jeleček 2004; Drbohlav, Kalvoda, Voženílek 2004). This different institutional position resulted in a specific development of local geographical traditions, stressing the regional, cultural, environmental, landscape, agricultural, health, land use and other various strains of geographical thought that had potentials for maintaining trans-/inter-disciplinary bridges or the more or less symbiotic social-natural scientific disciplinary straddle. This clearly contrasts with the "Anglo-American" institutional localization of geography as a human geographical discipline closely tied with other disciplines interested in the study of society and space (Nayak, Jeffrey 2011).

Despite the fact that I would not like to essentialize this distinction, I believe that this difference, coupled with the long term isolation from the "Western" ideologies during the state socialism, actually gave rise to the most of the contemporary differences between CEE geographies and those produced in the Anglo-Saxon context (Jeleček 2004). In Czechia, geography research is traditionally empirically oriented, with a long history of positivist and spatial-scientific tradition emphasis is put on hard data and quantitative methodology (Hampl 1971). While less tangible and more qualitative approaches came from feminist, post-structural or other theoretical lens, less empirically oriented geographical traditions still elicit impressions of being "weak," less scientific, and less rigorous. This situation proposes that even the feminist geographical traditions in Czech geography have yet to emerge (Pospíšilová and Pospíšilová 2014). In a similar vein I also believe that these different institutional embeddedness of Czech and other CEE geographies, combined with the long term ideological isolation during the socialist period, are actual causes of the belated introduction of both cultural and linguistic turns in local geographies (Matoušek, Osman 2014). Therefore, since it was "easier" and more acceptable in my geography department to introduce a "new" phenomenon by conducting a more-quantitatively oriented study, I decided to base most of my empirical evidence on quantitative methodologies and rather twist them in a "queer methodological" way:

> "'Queer research' can be any form of research positioned within conceptual frameworks that highlight the instability of taken-for-granted meanings and resulting power relations. Queer inflected perspectives, approaches and conceptualizations have been taken up, disputed and reworked in different disciplinary contexts, reflecting the traditions of knowledge production in those disciplines."
>
> (Browne and Nash 2012, s. 4)

Generally, I consider my position as a sole researcher, a pioneer. Even if in contrast to the "real" pioneers in Anglo-American geography who truly worked their ways into geographical discourses (Weightman 1981), without having any external support, my research results were backed up by a large number of existing Anglo-Saxon geographical research, by presence of my colleagues abroad, and by my open-minded supervisor. Despite this fact, I have often been challenged for introducing an allegedly non-geographical phenomenon into geography, and hence made aware of many discursive and power-relational specifics that I have to negotiate.

METODS AND DATA BEHIND MY PUBLICATIONS

Since my doctoral research could be understood as a pioneering research project within Czech geography, initially, I had to tackle with the absolute lack of secondary data which could be useful for my investigation of non-heterosexuals' social-spatial lives. Census data is acquired every decade (2001, 2011, etc.), having published their last final results in 2013, which was not only late for my research purposes but also useless since it did not inquire about issues connected with people's sexual orientation. There was only slight exception in the form of a question, included during the last census in 2011, inquiring about the existence of same-sex families with children. In addition to the census, there were mainly two other sources of data which inquired about the realities of non-heterosexual people in Czechia. Firstly, there was an annual poll about general public opinions on "homosexuality[57]" conducted by the Center of Independent Public Opinion Research (CVVM) associated with the Czech Institute of Sociology (SOÚ) and the second was "EU data" from Special Eurobarometer 317 or 393 on discrimination. None of these polls were specifically designed to inquire about and subsequently understand non-heterosexuals, but presented "representative" polls investigating the general public "levels of familiarization" with the existence of phenomena connected with non-heterosexuals' everyday lives – homophobia, intolerance, stereotyping, etc. Moreover, as a reminder to the previously discussed crisis of representation, it is crucial to underscore that no matter how "representative" these samples of data might be, they still cannot do justice to the populations they (cl)aim to represent. How come, for example, "heterosexuals" who did not know any non-heterosexuals are to

[57] It is clear that even the Czech Institute of Sociology does not bother with reproducing this medicalized and pathologized terminology that has been at multiple occasions proven biased by local or international research authorities (APA 1991).

judge whether there is discrimination of "gay, lesbian or bisexual persons" widespread or not? This was the case in Special Eurobarometer 317, where its processors pondered over the interesting results in which states such as Czechia, Slovakia (both 22 percent) and Estonia (28 percent) perceived discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation as much less widespread as in other EU countries. At the same time, however, the poll's results showed that it is only 20 percent of people in Czechia, 15 percent in Slovakia and 17 percent in Estonia that actually have some "LGBT" friends. Results of such data are questionable if at all carrying any substance. Generally, it can be said that at the beginning of my research there was almost[58] no available quantitative data useful for my investigation of socio-spatial lives of non-heterosexuals in Czechia, and I had to acquire my own primary data.

When I regard my "doctoral research," I began this research before I acquired my master's diploma instead of starting after being accepted to my doctoral program. In my master's research project, at the beginning of spring in 2011, I conducted a large-scale sampling and questionnaire distribution among Czech non-heterosexual population. In contrast to my expectations, I was able to gather the largest then available sample of Czech non-heterosexual population (N=1589 unique responses). By doing so, I was not only able to finish my master's diploma thesis but acquire adequate empirical data for some of my subsequent publications. Since part of the empirical data I worked with during my doctoral research originated in this sampling, I will now discuss this methodological challenge in closer detail.

HARD-TO-SURVEY POPULATIONS

First, I had to deal with the difficulty of *recognizing* my respondents and with *defining* the (sub)population that I aimed to study. There is no available sampling frame or register about non-heterosexuals, and the very stability of being a "sexualized being" with having a "discernible, stable" sexual "identity" has proved to be theoretically problematical and indeed "un-queer" (Browne, Nash 2012).

This theoretical and also practical problem makes it difficult to survey non-heterosexuals and categorizing this population can be generally understood as "*hard-*

[58] There were only two notable studies gathering rather small samples of non-heterosexuals (Procházka, Janík, Hromada 2003; Pechová 2009). These were directed to investigating discrimination and bullying and did not allow for my more theoretically based operationalizations.

to-survey[59]" (Smith 2014; Tourangeau 2014). Since sexuality is not inscribed onto the body, it does not have to be made visible by any sort of cultural code (Johnston, Longhurst 2009). Moreover, due to the daily heteronormative reality, non-heterosexuality is often being kept hidden "in the closet" (Sedgwick 1990; Brown 2000).

This methodological difficulty is perhaps one of the reasons why non-heterosexuals, as well as other hard-to-survey populations, become severely and somewhat traditionally underrepresented in social research (Flanagan, Hancock 2010; Tourangeau 2014) even if crucial, socially invaluable data is still missing about "them".

One of the most frequently utilized methods for sampling and gathering data about non-heterosexuals, including other hard-to-survey populations, is *snowball sampling* or some other chain-referral variant of it. This method is traditionally used for drawing samples in geographies of sexualities (Bell and Valentine 1995; Bell 1997; Rhoads 1997; Kramer 1995). It was also employed in the very first investigations of non-heterosexuals in Czechia in a study conducted by Procházka, Janík and Hromada (2003) who used mixed online and "offline" snowball sampling with aspects of convenience sampling (based on advertisement in subcultural press) to gather N=267 non-heterosexual respondents. In another Czech study, Pechová (2009) utilized a combination of online snowball sampling with convenience sampling and was able to assemble a relatively extensive sample of N=496 non-heterosexuals.

Especially in the increasingly *internetized* societies, using the Internet and online forms of sampling and research administration (Internet Mediated Research – IMR) has several advantages and potentials (Hewson, Laurent 2008). First of all, using IMR is cost and time effective, which in my case meant saving a lot since it took me two years for my research proposal to become funded by a university grant. Further, the Internet provides instantaneous access to a potentially vast and geographically diverse pool of participants. Therefore, researchers can theoretically generate larger samples than they would have been able to accomplish otherwise, which means that

[59] The term hard-to-survey is contested but perhaps most universal. Other terms such as 'hard-to-reach' or 'hidden' wider applicability and are used inconsistently, specifically within the discourses in the field of health and social inequalities (Flanagan, Hancock 2010). An alternate term "hidden populations" is frequently used in the sampling context (Atkinson, Flint 2001). The term "hard-to-reach" is most frequently used within the context of researching drug users (Elliott, Watson, Harries 2002), sex workers, people living with HIV, asylum-seekers, refugees, minority ethnic communities, non-heterosexual people, children and youth, disabled and elderly people.

quantitative research projects can increase their "statistical power" (Hewson, Laurent 2008). Provided that the researcher have some experience with their populations of interest, even the hard-to-survey populations or other specialist populations can be easily accessed via online special-interest or support-group forums or community websites that are particularly important in qualitative research. McGuirk and O'Neill pointed out that IMR has a potential for obtaining strong response rates whereas respondents routinely submit lengthy commentaries on open questions, which contributes to the qualitative value of research projects (McGuirk, O'Neill 2008).

The nature of the Internet as an online interactive medium protects people through their perceived (and actual) anonymity levels as well as levels of perceived privacy can be high. This feature is definitely not easily achieved in off-line contexts (Hewson, Laurent 2008). The perceived anonymity of the Internet may further encourage disadvantaged, stigmatized or even disabled people to discuss topics or disclose more details then they would be willing to do in face-to-face situations (Eynon, Fry, Schroeder 2008, p. 28). Moreover, it has also been reported that the anonymity of the Internet reduces social desirability bias (i.e. the tendency of respondents to answer in a manner that will be viewed favorably by others) which is prevalent in researching sensitive topics specifically when working with hard-to-survey population research. Online research methods thus have the capacity for promoting greater candor (Hessler, et al. 2003), which may in turn benefit both quantitative and qualitative approaches on sensitive and personal topics. Aside from the general methodological standpoint, digital form and administration provides enables to include advanced graphics and involve creative attitudes without any associated printing costs. New opportunities for more complex questions and logical structures can be post, additionally increasing their potential for generating rich qualitative or quantitative data (McGuirk, O'Neill 2008).

Employing IMR also entails potential risks and disadvantages[60]. Most discussions revolve around the problematic character of Internet-user population (IUP) and how it potentially biases the nature of Internet-accessed samples (Schmidt 1997).

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[60] The Internet as a specific interactional medium for interpersonal communication can also be viewed as a potential downside since missing presence of researcher may also affect the control over the participants' knowledge and the participation context behavior. Limited or missing use of extra linguistic cues such as tone of voice, facial expressions, body language in general and so forth may cause ambiguities in the communication process (Bowker, Tuffin 2004). Moreover, when taking advantage of **online research**, one must bear in mind that the collected data needs to be secured, protected or encrypted in order to prevent other people from accessing or tampering with it (Eynon, Fry, Schroeder 2008).

However, bias in IMR is difficult to measure since it is not possible to entirely characterize IUP without having an actual register of all internet users, which would be needed for describing its coverage bias (Hewson, Laurent 2008). In my pioneering research, it was not my intention to attempt to collect a "representative sample" not only because the "queer character" of non-heterosexual populations deny it, but also because I was informed by post-structuralist methodologies and philosophies of knowledge that reflected futility of trying to do so in form of a "crisis of representation"(Browne, Nash 2012).

SAMPLING PROCESS

Based on the positive experiences of other authors and the discussed specifics of non-heterosexuals or generally the hard-to-survey populations, I decided to only utilize online sampling. In order to increase the diversity of the sample, I combined several methods by which I contacted my initial respondents and thus tailored a specific sampling strategy. All respondents irrespective to how they had been contacted were asked to refer other potential respondents, which enabled for chain referral continuation. My aim was to muster as diverse sample as possible of the Czech non-heterosexual Internet population.

I began in the beginning of February 2011 by sending emails with a link to my questionnaire to my 15 gay friends who were members of my own social network. Then I sent it to 26 non-heterosexual members of Charles University queer association Charlie o. s. The following day I began sending cover letters asking for participation in my study to administrators as well as contact people of various Czech community websites that focused on various non-heterosexual subcultures. If the group had a functional website then I asked them to publish a graphic advertisement of my research. In total I contacted (often repeatedly) 31 different community groups and organizations[61]. However I received considerable support from only 8 of them that had presented my advertisement on their websites[62]. In this initial stage, I was aware that convenience sampling of visitors to these community websites dominated over the chain referral snowballing. This trend is clearly visible in figure 11 where a

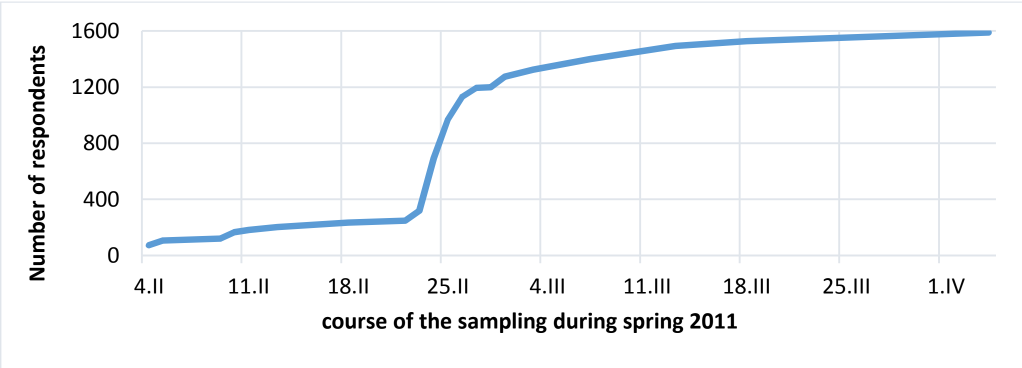
[61] Aquamen, Bengáles, Colourplanet, eLnadruhou, gay.skupiny.org, Pratety, Honílek, STUD, Gejt, M-klub Lambda, býv. Gay iniciativa (skrze jejího člena), NetBoys.eu, iboys.cz, 004.cz, Lesba.cz, Lesbanet.cz, Kluci z Budějic, Drbna.cz, Holky v Brně, Charlie o.s., Czech Youth Queer Organisation, Galibi, Gaynet.cz, Irideus, Queerparade Tábor, Holky Zlín, Ušáčkův svět, Valach, one4one, LUI, Moravští medvědi, Rozdilnerytmy.

[62] eLnadruhou, Lesbanet, Colourplanet, STUD, LUI, honilek, Rozdilné rytmy a Charlie o. s.

rapid increase in sampling correlates with the period I published my advertisement on community websites.

At both the beginning of my survey and at the end of it, all participants were kindly asked to refer the link to another non-heterosexual. For this reason I believe that the snowballing potential still played a key role in the sampling process. I strove to gather a diverse sample as possible by initiating multiple smaller discrete chains that would minimize potential biases.

Figure 11: Progress of sampling



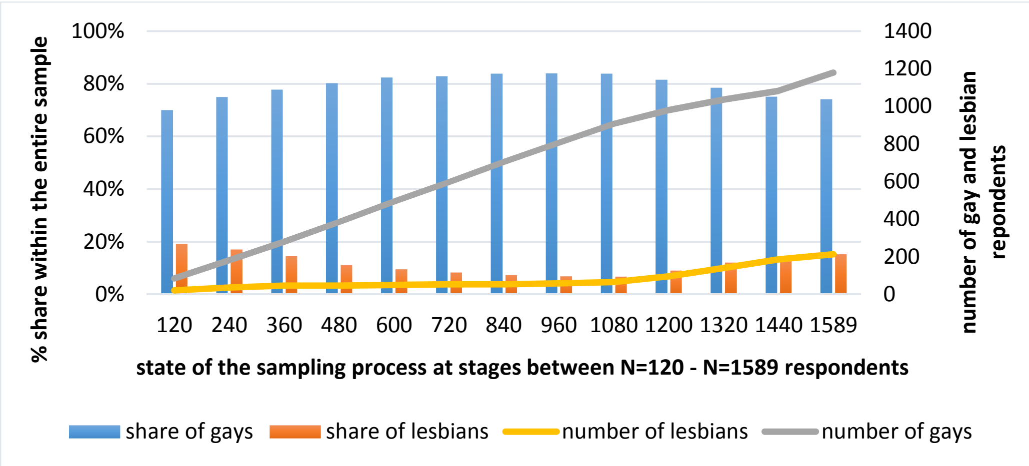
Source: author's own data

In order to diversify the sample as much as possible, I also made contact with a number of researchers that work with non-heterosexuals in Czechia and asked them to postpone my research to their mailing-lists or contacts.

During the whole sampling process I was in communication with potential respondents that required additional information, wanted to check on my identity as a researcher, or just wanted to know that the research is real. I replied to every instance. I specifically paid attention to make repetitive contacts with the representatives of the lesbian minority (mainly with administrators of lesbian community groups) in order to precede their traditionally lower rate of participation (when compared to gays). Despite my constant pleas for more participation, they had not been very effective. Ultimately, I had not been able to make the lesbian sampling competitive with the gay sampling, which was eight times greater in absolute numbers. The sampling process ended after two months when it reached 1589 non-heterosexual respondents.

The main criterion for participation in the research was self-identified non-heterosexuality. Aside from the "classical" categories such as gay, lesbian, bisexual man/female, an additional category for “other non-heterosexual orientation” was added. I followed a suggestion of Browne and had given a chance for individuals to defy sexual identity politics or other categorizations (Browne, Nash 2012; Browne 2005). Gays were largely overrepresented counting 74 percent (N=1178) of the total sample, followed by 15 percent lesbians (N=241) and 7 percent of bisexual men (N=104), 3 percent of bisexual women (N=52) and 1 percent of otherwise identifying non-heterosexuals (N=14). The differences between gay and lesbian sampling are depicted in figure 12.

Figure 12: Progress of sampling in gay and lesbian respondents (N=1419) and their changing ratio within the entire sample (N=120 - N=1589).

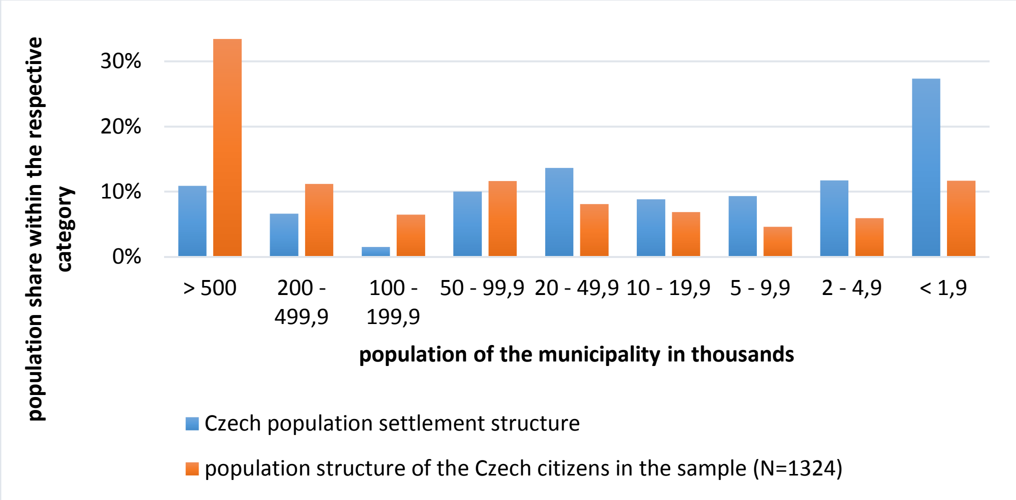


Source: author’s own data

The main factor that restricted the propagation of the questionnaire was Czech language; however, due to closeness between Czech and Slovak languages (e.g. our language, media and cultural closeness and interconnectedness, etc.), it was not possible to separate these two populations. I expected this and included a question about state citizenship. The total sample consists of 83 percent (N=1324) Czech citizens, 16 percent (N=250) Slovaks and 1 percent of other citizens.

It is considered commonplace to compare the sample demographic characteristics with those of the general population (with census data) since it may illustrate differences in population structures in respect to age or place of residence. Residential structure comparison between the acquired sample and the general Czech population is showed in figure 13.

Figure 13: Residential structure comparison between the acquired sample and the general Czech population (only Czech citizens N=1324)



Source: author's own data, (Czech Statistical Office 2011).

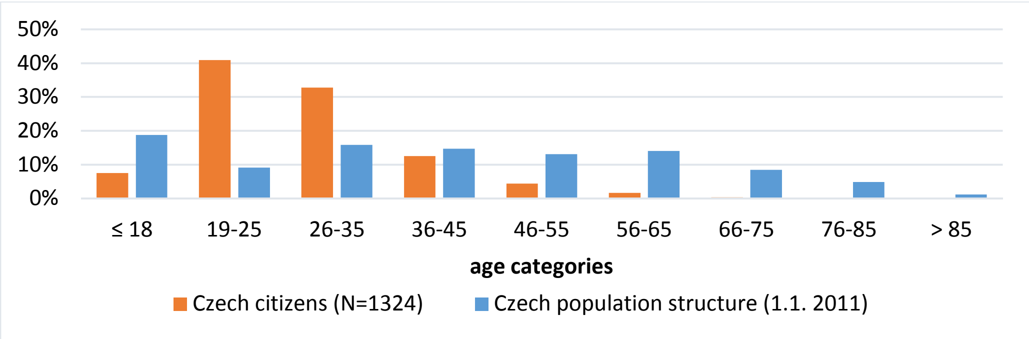
The best match, on one hand, is found in municipalities between 10 – 99,000 inhabitants. The municipalities with the greatest number of inhabitants are, on the other hand, significantly overrepresented. This may support the works of some authors arguing that non-heterosexuals concentrate in cities (Bell, Valentine 1995; Hubbard 2006; Abramowicz 2007).

Since my sampling was mediated through the Internet, I expected that this will translate into the age structure of the final sample (i.e. due to differences between IUP[63] and the general population). The resulting age structure was following: 7,5 percent (N=119) respondents were up to 18 years old; 42 percent were between 19 – 25 years (N=668); 32,5 percent (N=517) were between 26 – 35 years; 12 percent (N=191) were between 36 – 45 years; 4,2 percent (N=66) were between 46 – 55 years; and 1,8 percent (N=28) were older than 56 years. Age dispersion was 15 – 69 years. The average age of bisexual women (23) was lower than in other groups. Due to the fact that the age distribution was not normal, I utilized a non-parametric alternative to the one-sided analysis of variance (ANOVA) and the statistical hypothesis of whether all these groups came from the identical population (H0) verified in the Kruskall-Wallis's test that does not require the normal distribution of

[63] Only half of the population aged over 55 years actively use Internet and this number rapidly plummets to 20% in people aged over 65 years. On the other hand, Internet use does not fall beyond 80% in younger age groups (Czech Statistical Office, 2010).

the data. The result of the test disproved the H0 and admitted the alternative hypothesis (0.05) that considers the existent groups as statistically different. The group couples in which I proved significant age differences were the following: bi-men (+)[64] vs bi-women (-), bi-women (-) vs gays (+), bi-women (-) vs lesbians (+), and gays (+) vs lesbians (-). It is clearly visible from the age structure that younger categories were overrepresented and therefore the whole sample did not represent all age groups evenly. See the comparison in figure 14.

Figure 14: Age structure comparison between the acquired sample and the general Czech population (only Czech citizens N=1324)



Source: author's own data, (Czech Statistical Office 2011)

The differences between the structure of the sample and the general population of the Czech Republic may have been caused by more difficult and complicated reachability of older (over 55 years) and elderly Czech non-heterosexual people. According to similar research results from Poland (Abramowicz 2007) and Hungary (Takács 2006), the older non-heterosexuals have learned to live isolated lives and tend to not interact intensively in social relations. I would refrain from essentializing these groups' characteristics since data about their life strategies are still largely lacking (Seidl, Wintr, Nozar 2012; Himl, Seidl, Schindler 2013). Moreover, it should be noted that older respondents have spent most of their lives prior the year 1989, during the state communist regime and have thus faced everyday difficulties, silencing, and tabooing. *These people* may have had to adapt to those conditions by developing specific strategies of passing and closeting, which in time may have petrified and rendered these individuals permanently closeted, further rendering them harder-to-reach. Further, I am convinced that under the socialist conditions it

[64] (+) significantly older, (-) significantly younger.

was impossible for activists to be organized (Seidl, Wintr, Nozar 2012). When various sexual identity categories were made discursively unavailable (e.g. gay, lesbian or bisexual identity categories made culturally available in the "West" during the 1960s did not penetrate into the local discourses or media at the same times), it must have affected the developments of sexual categories (either interpellations, psychoanalytic subject formations, or their performances/performativities) that typically may begin to develop during the stage of maturing – at the time of adolescence when an individual starts to explore her or his own sexuality. Moreover, during most of the duration of the state socialist regime, there were no explicitly[65] non-heterosexual spaces available for non-heterosexual socializing, making them literally feel "out-of-place" everywhere (ibid). Thus I believe that some of my potential respondents aged above 55 years had actually not developed (or additionally developed, accepted, constructed, internalized, institutionalized, etc.) any of those specific sexual identities such as gay or lesbian, and these respondents may rather have developed other self-understandings of themselves in which being solitary, childless, or different in other respects, rather than in those of sexual orientation, may have outweigh the potential development of their sexual identities.

It was then this sample through which I collected my quantitative and qualitative data in the form of an online questionnaire that inquired about the spatiality of non-heterosexuals' negotiation of their sexual identities and awareness of hetero-normativity. This methodology is behind my third included paper.

QUEERING QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGIES

I co-authored a second empirical paper with my colleague Koessan Gabiam. We employed another interesting methodology for developing an understanding of the large-scale trends behind the development of various gay places and spaces in EU27, Norway and Switzerland. We used the Spartacus International Gay Guide 2007 edition as our data source because it posed a unique list of global gay businesses, associations and cruising locations collected under one uniform criterion. Therefore, we assumed that the selection criteria for listing were standardized and thus comparable for all European countries. Since we did not find any comparable

[65] There were few venues where non-heterosexuals socialized; however, in none of them did so completely openly and none of them did openly "identify" as either gay, lesbian, homosexual or any other way (Seidl, Wintr, Nozar 2012).

database that would represent lesbian businesses or places, we decided to restrict our analysis to “gay spaces”.

We used this database of secondary data for our subsequent analysis in which we employed a statistical method – a principal component analysis (PCA), a version of ‘factor analysis’ which transforms a number of correlated variables, in our case a number of indexed various ‘gay places’, into a (smaller) number of uncorrelated variables called principal components – to further interpretation. Our employment of quantitative methodology in the field of geographies of sexualities, which is largely dominated by use of qualitative methods, has shown that, when used for purposes outside of producing generalizable data or universal validity, this methodology may complement qualitative research methods in order to reach a better understanding of otherwise complicated data.

III. SUMMARY OF MY PUBLICATIONS AND RESULTS

In this section I will now concisely introduce four of my selected publications, all of which were aimed to contribute to the development of geographies of sexualities in Czechia. All of my published works are included in their original untranslated (only the fourth paper is in English) versions at the end of this thesis. As I will try to make clear, they all resonate and support the discussed theoretical and philosophical concepts on various mutually interlinked levels that I aim not only to unwrap in this dissertation but also enmesh them in a much wider context.

Firstly, two of my four included published works are review papers. The first one is a journal article focusing on introducing the basic terminology employed in geographies of sexualities and to familiarize Czech readers with the seminal works that paved the way for analyzing problems in geographies of sexualities in current mainstream Anglo-Saxon human geographies. My second published paper, a book chapter in a geography book, does not include empirical data either and is a review as well. This article focuses on illuminating the theory behind queer and post-structuralist approaches, which allowed me to pioneer this field of study in Czechia. Both of these papers mostly include work with a vast conglomeration of literature wherein I strove to develop inter- and transdisciplinary sensitivity which I could later use for my empirical research. I will come back to both of my review paper in more detail in the next section.

Two of my works written later engage with empirical data. The third paper previously discussed in this thesis is an article published in an interdisciplinary journal. In this work, I, on one hand, make connections between my geographical work and the wider social and social-critical theories. On the other, I empirically illustrate how non-heterosexuals spatially negotiate their everyday sexual identities at the level of immediately-accessible spaces surrounding one's body, such as streets, pools, bars, trams, etc. My last included paper is a co-authored journal article, the only one published in English, investigating large scale regional data about the various economic, social and cultural factors behind the development of gay spaces and places at the macro level, EU27, Norway and Switzerland.

1. URBAN SPATIALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF (HOMO/HETERO)SEXUALITY: INTRODUCTION TO A THEORETICAL DEBATE IN GEOGRAPHIES OF SEXUALITIES

PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Urban Spatiality in the context of (homo/hetero)sexuality: Introduction to a theoretical debate in geographies of sexualities. *GEOGRAFIE*. 2014. Vol. 119, no. 2, pp. 179–198. (IF=0.787)

In the first journal article forming part of this thesis, I focus on presenting a review of seminal works behind the development of geographies of sexualities in the "West". Due to the necessary limitations of length, I narrowed my review to a discussion of selected works within the context of urban geographies of sexualities. Despite that these "urban-oriented" works are now considered rather "traditional" within the geographies of sexualities, I believe that focusing on their review may help Czech and Slovak[66] students connect with them easier since our local urban geography tradition is broad and distinctive, specifically at our department of geography in Prague (Ouředníček 2007; Sýkora 1999; Sýkora, Bouzarovski 2012).

First, I point out that despite the fact that sexualities as subject matter are still rather unheard of in Czech geographical context, they entered into Anglo-Saxon geography during the 1980s and 1990s. Currently, this thought is considered part of contemporary geographical mainstream imaginings. Yet this Anglo-Saxon cultural context limited its ability to theorize "outside of the West." As a result of this, authors called for "correctives" from outside the "Western" context and consciously invited other geographical traditions to "water down of the Western" ethnocentricity and called for expanding geographies of sexualities beyond the "West" (Binnie, Valentine 1999). My interest can thus be considered as a response to this call.

Second, I provided evidence that sexualities need to be understood in terms of human difference, suggesting that they may be considered as one of the four primary *axes of difference*, *social relations*, or categories of *social identities*, together with social class, gender and race (Pain 2001, p. 123). Moreover, I made an effort to stress that these differences need not to be studied exclusively, but rather should be considered together as mutually interlinked – intersectional.

Furthermore, since this paper was actually the first geographical journal article focusing on sexualities published in Czechia, I briefly focused on introducing the most important terminology and specifics of its use. For example, I explained that

[66] Since Czech and Slovak languages are mutually understandable even the geographical societies in both countries continue to closely cooperate.

when geographers used the term sexuality, they understood the concept as more than simply sexual desires or sexual acts. I also highlighted its socially-constructed understandings framed by the various discussed post-structuralist, feminist and queer conceptualizations. By pointing out the social-constructionist understandings of sexuality, I introduced criticism of prevalent, inherently disciplinary essentialism that problematized the ways in which sexualities/gender still being conceptualized (DeLamater, Hyde 1998). Hence, I present an extensive rationale for abandoning the use of medically biased "homosexual" and "heterosexual" terminology (APA 1991). I also explained the use of "gay" and "lesbian", specifically with an accent to their local uses in which "lesbian" (in Czech *lesba*) is not employed homogeneously but sometimes in form of its incorrect (and somewhat pejorative) diminutive form "*lesbička*". Moreover, within the context of this terminological introduction, I paid attention to outlining "queer" and to "preparing grounds" for my subsequent publication (especially for my theoretical book chapter) in which I aimed to illuminate it in a greater detail.

Leaving the terminological and introductory lines of reasoning, I further focus on providing insights into notable research around urban geographies of sexualities. Starting with its roots in the Chicago School of Urban Sociology (especially to Wirth's works *The Hobo* from 1923 and *The Ghetto* from 1928) and the works of urban sociologists on concentrations, urban regeneration and gentrification (Levine 1979; Castells 1983; Knopp 1987). Furthermore, I point out the connections made between urban political geography, capitalism and the daily lives of "gays and lesbians" living in large (mostly American, British, or Australian) cities. Consequently I introduce the problematic nature of *gayborhoods*, *gay villages*, "*pink economy* and *commodification*" by reviewing geographical work that has been widely cited around these important issues (Pain 2001; Binnie 1995; Sibalis 2004; Brown 2013). I aim to make clear that the development in cities does not follow some universal logic and that there are for example clear differences between British and American "spatialities of sexualities", not to mention between these and those in Czechia. Last but not least, I introduce "pride parades" as examples of the spatial strategies that almost exclusively take place within the urban contexts and discuss their potentials for "queering" heteronormativity and making otherness visible.

2. QUEER SPACE(S)

PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Queer space(s). In: MATOUŠEK, R. and OSMAN, R. (eds.): Prostor(y) Geografie. Karolinum, pp. 123–146. ISBN 978-80-246-2733-5.

My second paper, a theoretically oriented book chapter, published in recent Czech geographical collection edited by my colleagues Matoušek and Osman (2014), is closely connected with my theoretical discussions and focuses on the development of post-structuralist and queer lines of reasoning in Czech geography. Its main aim was thus to provide a concise, introductory "material" that would be legible and understood to various Czech students interested in developing sensitivity to postmodern, post-structuralist and queer understandings. Similarly, as in my first journal article, I combined the theory by presenting arguments from various seminal works from the field of geographies of sexualities.

The whole collection in which my chapter was published had in fact several overarching aims – to develop both a cultural and linguistic turn in Czech geography and build inter-/intra-disciplinary bridges with related social-scientific disciplines[67]. As a whole, the collection was also a belated response to much older one published 22 years ago edited by Sýkora (1993) in which the rise of postmodern and post-structuralist approaches, including, for example, feminist geographies, was presupposed by several authors (Pavlínek 1993).

In contrast to the discussion in this dissertation, this book chapter expands about the discussion of postmodernism, and accentuates the critical and incredulous understandings that postmodern geography necessarily entails. By doing so, I want to respond to the prevalent attitudes within Czech geography (Blažek, Uhlíř 2011) which represents and portray postmodernism as rather unproductive and evaluate it with "indicators" such as degree of systematisms, eclecticism or its potential for creation theories or generalizability, hence by characteristics that it intentionally avoids (Murdoch 2006; Lyotard 1979; Clarke 2006).

Since this book chapter is primarily meant for students of human geography who are interested in queer theory and geographies of sexualities, it also necessarily includes discussions of seminal works in the field of urban geographies of gay ghettoes and gay villages that focus on investigations of predominantly gay clustering within the large American, UK or Australian cities. These works present gentrification or

[67] After all most of the social-scientific disciplines were in parallel influenced by the wider *spatial turn*.

commodification as one of the "traditionally" researched issues (Levine 1979; Castells 1983; Pain 2001; Knopp 1987; Rothenberg 1995; Sibalis 2004; Binnie 1995). Furthermore, I focus on introducing more identity-space oriented "gay and lesbian geographies" (Weightman 1981; Brown, Knopp 2003) and focus on geographies of sexualities, which adopted more queer understandings of human subjectivity and space development as relational and fluid.

Then I specifically focus on presenting understandably-accessible introductions to two of the most influential and elemental concepts in queer theory, which are Michel Foucault's work on power, sexuality and disciplining (Foucault 1980, 1978) and Judith Butler's work on performativity, which is mainly based on the previously discussed speech act theory (Butler 1990, 1993b). Only time will show if Czech students of human geography will inspire themselves in these approaches and begin developing their own understandings of these issues within a Czech context.

3. SPATIALITY, INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND CONTEXTUALITY OF HETERONORMATIVITY: STUDY OF NON-HETEROSEXUAL IDENTITY NEGOTIATION IN CZECHIA

PITOŇÁK, M. (2013): Spatiality, institutionalization and contextuality of heteronormativity: Study of non-heterosexual identity negotiation in Czechia. *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum*. 2013. Vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 27–40.

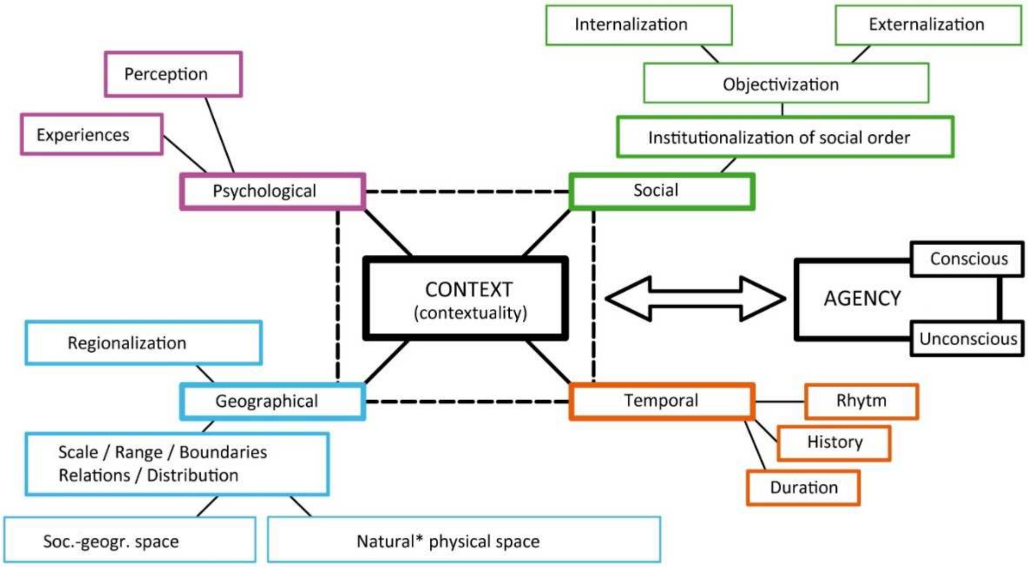
My third paper is a journal article that focuses on the problem of spatiality of human sexual identity negotiation. Its title includes three seemingly complicated terms: spatiality, institutionalization and contextuality; however, since I have already problematized them in my theoretical and philosophical introduction, it is possible to simplify that I sought to understand the degree to which non-heterosexuals are aware of heteronormativity and if, and how, they negotiate it.

The main contribution of this paper is the formulation of the concept of human agency *contextuality*, which refers mostly, but not exclusively, to the contextual negotiation of sexual identities in various types[68] of spaces and places (see fig. 15). I built this framework on a discussion of several applicable social, and social-critical theories that deal with the elusive question known as "human agency-structure debate." Most significantly, I apply Berger's and Luckmann's seminal work on the social construction of reality (Berger, Luckmann 1991) and complement it (or at least juxtaposed it) with other frameworks offered by structuration theory (Giddens 1984), Foucault's understanding of power (Foucault 1977, 1980), Goffman's dramaturgical analysis (Goffman 1959), and Butler's understanding of performativity (Butler 1990, 1993b). This approach allowed me to make insights into the degree of deliberateness or awareness in human sexual identity negotiation (or agency behind it).

As a secondary goal of this paper I want to close the gap between the otherwise institutionally separated social sciences and humanities in Czechia and put them in conversation with human geography. I believe that by doing so this article contributes to both the spatial turn (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, Whatmore 2009) in Czech social sciences and humanities and to the cultural turn or linguistic turn in Czech geography (Matoušek, Osman 2014; Blažek, Rochovská 2006).

[68] For the actual photographs see the included article (Pitoňák 2013a).

Figure 15: Contextuality of human agency



Source: (Pitoňák 2013a)

*By natural space I understood also determined natural biological capabilities of the body as in the human micro-space esp. the limitation factors

The theoretical part of this paper also sought to provide criticism of the "traditional" psychological unidimensional understanding of human sexual identity and of "coming out" as some sort of accomplishable linear process (Meyer, Ouellette 2009; Verni 2009). After explaining the actual flexibility and multiplicity of sexual identities in individuals in form of "closetedness" and "passing as straight," I turn to my empirical research in which I measure for non-heterosexuals' negotiation and awareness of the heteronormativity in various spaces.

By applying a rather unconventional quantitative methodology within the field of geographies of sexualities, I mean to measure the perceived levels of heteronormativity in various spaces that I have selected (see fig. 16). I designed a sophisticated internet mediated questionnaire which allowed me to expose my research participants to a carefully chosen set of photographs that facilitated measurement of the level of perceived "sexual comfort" used in my operationalization. Each respondent was presented a photograph and provided with two different 10 point scales. First scale measure the level of relative sexual comfort (satisfaction, the relativity of the term was explained etc.) of my actual participants imagining themselves present in the displayed spaces/places. Whereas with the second scale respondents were asked to guess what level of the relative sexual comfort would they feel in the place if they were "straight." What I actually measured then were the differentials between the scores at both scales that I translated into what I call "index of spatial heteronormativity". I believe that my results evidence primarily two interesting sets of findings.

The first set of results was expected: most spaces were considered relatively heteronormative. The results point to the expectation that non-heterosexuals do not feel "comfortable" in these spaces, which increased for the possibility of "passing as straight." The second set of findings was rather interesting since I included pictures of several spaces with visible "gay symbolic" such as rainbow flags or the presence of explicit same-sex desire (performances). I find that non-heterosexuals expect heterosexuals to feel themselves "uncomfortable" in various "gay spaces", unveiling the evident expectations of "homo-normativity". I encourage my readers to take a closer look at my published article[69] since I believe it provides more contextuality to geographers' understandings of human sexual identity flexible negotiation (Gill Valentine 1993).

[69] I encourage my English speaking readers to read my eBook chapter published as an outcome of my conference paper presentation at Queer Sexualities conference in Sydney, 2013 organized by Inter-Disciplinary.net (Pitoňák 2013b).

Figure 16: Measured levels of spatial heteronormativity (Indices of spatial heteronormativity)

	Index of spatial heteronormativity	lesbians (N=241)	gays (N=1178)	bisexual females (N=52)	bisexual males (N=104)	self-identified as "other"(N=14)
Queer café exterior	3,14	3,47	3,08	3,58	2,86	1,93
Gay club interior	3,01	3,3	3,03	2,58	2,52	0,57
"Queer corner"	1,6	1,53	1,67	1,42	0,95	1,79
Forest	0,04	0,02	0,04	0,17	0,07	0
Pedestrian zone (symbol)	-0,46	-0,17	-0,5	-0,29	-0,69	-0,57
Empty park	-0,82	-0,74	-0,85	-0,52	-0,79	-0,93
Catholic church	-0,98	-1,26	-0,93	-0,62	-1,11	-0,64
Pedestrian zone (night)	-1,17	-0,86	-1,25	-0,79	-1,16	-0,93
Lecturing hall	-1,39	-1,79	-1,33	-0,98	-1,35	-0,71
Prefab house	-1,63	-1,61	-1,65	-1,35	-1,6	-1,57
Square	-1,67	-1,81	-1,67	-1,29	-1,56	-1,21
Pedestrian zone (day)	-1,75	-1,87	-1,75	-1,52	-1,56	-1,21
Amusement park	-1,85	-1,73	-1,91	-0,96	-1,76	-1,93
Shopping center	-1,85	-2,27	-1,77	-1,98	-1,69	-1,64
"Dating spot"	-2,03	-2,11	-2,01	-1,62	-2,15	-2,21
Empty gym	-2,03	-2,01	-2,05	-1,83	-1,88	-1,79
Public tram interior	-2,14	-2,48	-2,12	-1,81	-1,66	-2,14
Czech rural village	-2,46	-2,51	-2,5	-2,02	-2,14	-1,14
Public lido (pool)	-3,12	-3,52	-3,06	-2,5	-3,23	-2,14

Source: author's own research data (Pitoňák 2013a)

4. ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF GAY BUSINESSES AND PLACES: EVIDENCE FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION

GABIAM, K., PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Economic, Cultural and Social Factors Influencing the Development of Gay Businesses and Places: Evidence from the European Union. *Moravian Geographical Reports* [online]. 1 January 2014. Vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 2–17. (IF=0.341)

My fourth paper, which I co-authored with my colleague Koessan Gabiam from Université Libre de Bruxelles, is an empirically based article with a principal aim to discover and explain the distribution patterns of gay businesses and places in the European Union (EU27, Norway and Switzerland) by using a data source in form of uniquely comprehensive "gay" touristic guide, the Spartacus International gay guide 2007. We selected 27 types of variables (different types of gay businesses and places[70]) from the data about the cities with 100,000 and more inhabitants (168 cities in total) and ran a statistical analysis, a principal component analysis (PCA), for the purpose of identifying the most important linkages between the variables. By employing quantitative methodology, similarly to my previous paper, we wanted to further contribute to the use of quantitative methodologies within the field of geographies of sexualities and demonstrate how they may be used outside of the "representative" mode of knowledge production.

At the descriptive level, we confirmed a relation between a population size of a city and the number of registered "gay places;" however, we found some considerable discrepancies between a country's population and its number of "gay places". For example, we recorded only 92 "gay places" in Poland, with a population of 40 million, while we found 97 places in Czechia, which has a population of 10 million. Part of our main goal was to explain such evident regional discrepancies by applying interpretative analysis on inductive statistics (PCA).

The first component (CP1) that arose from our analysis was most positively correlated with restaurants and hotels and also least correlated with cruising places. We interpreted this component "axis" by employing comfort (mostly by tourism influenced), urban-hierarchy (urban dominance) and commodification of "gayness." Comfort, tourism, and urban hierarchy may be explained by commodification since

[70] For example, fashion shops, bars, apartments, travel agencies, cinemas, bookshops, health groups, tourist info points, cafes, cruising places, saunas, hotels, etc. all of which were attributed to a specific city, the nation-wide categories were not accounted for.

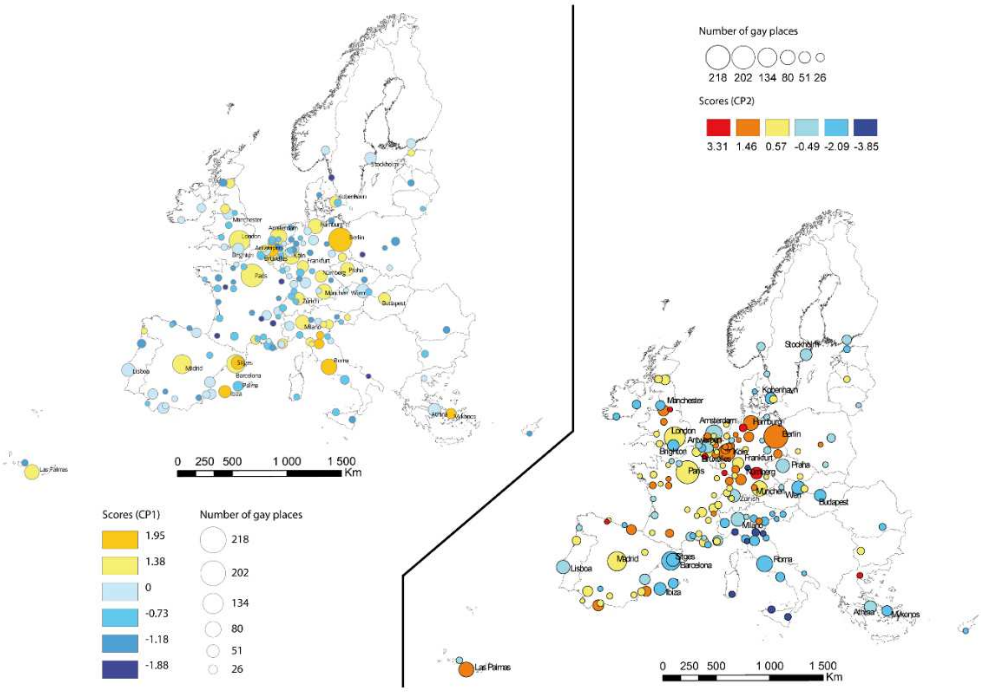
comfort is linked to tourism, which may be a result of the urban marketing of gay villages.

Four groups of cities scored positively on CP1. The first group of cities comprises the national capitals such as Berlin, Paris, London, Madrid, Amsterdam, Brussels, Prague, Rome, Budapest, Copenhagen, Tallinn and Ljubljana. The second group comprised of other cities with a minimum population of 500,000 inhabitants (Hamburg, Cologne, Nuremberg, Zurich, Milan, Barcelona, Antwerp, Edinburgh, Florence, Venice and Nice). The third group included other prominent cities (Montpellier, Bologna, Frankfurt, Pisa, Vigo, Dresden, Bruges and Charleroi), and the fourth group represented seaside resorts (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Blackpool, Sitges, Mykonos, Ibiza or Viareggio). In contrast to these positively represented groups, with respect to this gay commodification axis, another group of national capital cities scored slightly negative (Dublin, Lisbon, Oslo, Stockholm, Helsinki, Athens and Vilnius) or were heavily under-equipped (Luxemburg, Riga, Bratislava, Bucharest and Sofia). We explained the differences within this latter group by arguing that these cities partly consist of rather isolated but rich regions with long-term effects of commodification (Dublin, Oslo and Helsinki), and partly of less affluent and/or isolated with respect to the duration and exposition to the effects of commodification and discourses of capitalism coming from the "West" (Athens, Vilnius, Riga, Bratislava, Bucharest and Sofia).

The second component (CP2) was closely related to the first one; in this case, however, strongly positive correlations for gay bars contrasted with the negative gay/tourist info, gay porn cinemas, and with the presence of health groups. In our interpretation of this relationship, we attributed this pattern to a sociability (visibility) – "closetedness" (invisibility) axis where a more hidden and secretive gay subcultures contrast with the more open and visible mainstream gay subcultures. Results of the CP2 showed the largest contrast between the distribution pattern in Italy (dominantly invisible) and Germany (dominantly open).

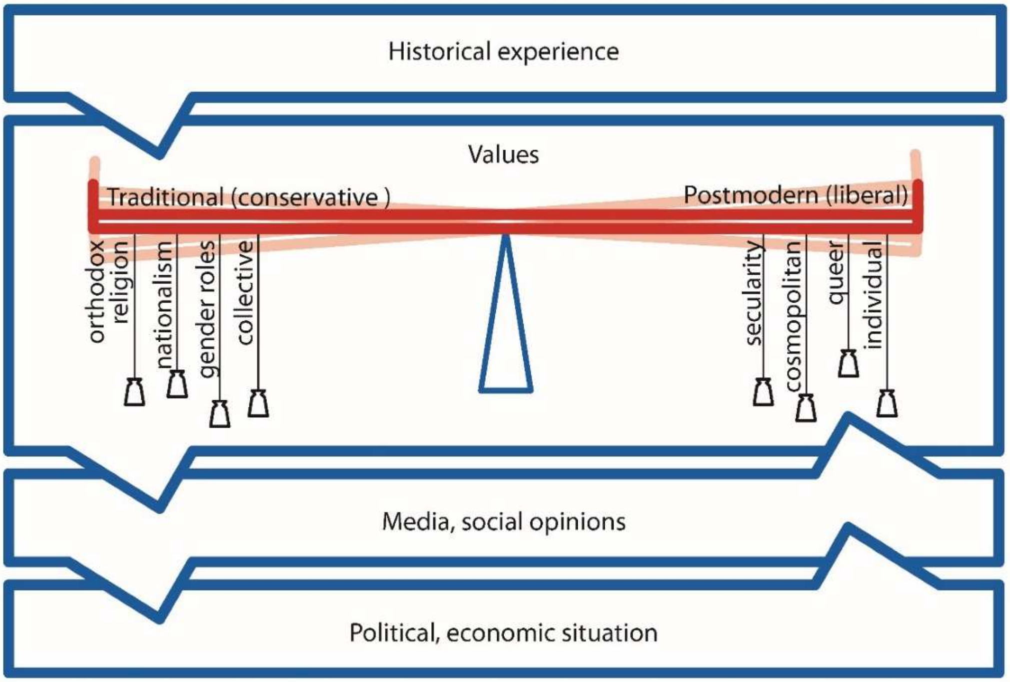
The evident differences of both components (CP1 and CP2) clearly suggest that the economic interpretations of phenomena represented by the complexities of both detected components are not sufficient. For this reason, we needed to develop a more sensitive interpretative approach that would include also the other political and cultural factors. Initially, we had juxtaposed our results with the data about transitions towards post-materialist values in societies (Inglehart, Welzel 2005), then we sought to find some overlaps with the developments of laws treating "homosexuality" within the respective countries (Waaldijk 2000), and finally, after we had scrutinized various sociological and activist reports, we offered an interpretative framework (see fig. 18) that combined various economic, cultural and societal factors. We used this framework for understanding the state of the prevailing values within the respective societies, specifically at its sensitivity towards understanding the character of "heteronormativity" at the macro-regional level. On the one hand, this helped us to explain why the distribution patterns of gay places in certain regions became more visible and commodified, and on the other, why other regions developed other more inconspicuous liminal ways of "gay place-making".

Figure 17: Maps with the scores at both detected components



Source: authors' own depiction (Gabiam, Pitoňák 2014)

Figure 18: The wider field of economic, cultural and societal factors behind the foundations of heteronormativity



Source: authors' own depiction (Gabiam, Pitoňák 2014)

IV. CONCLUSION

It was not my intention to present a linearly structured thesis nor was it my intention to present some sort of universal framework that would take pains to set some sort of strict approach since this would be against my intents. Rather, I aimed to present a modest proposal for geographical research founded in postmodern philosophy and post-structuralist thought that could not have been previously conducted for it lacked the necessary theoretical, methodological or philosophical backing.

It is not so long ago that a research study on sexualities in Czech human geography would be virtually impracticable; I wanted to present an understanding that has a potential for facilitating it beyond the margins of my own research. From the experience of Anglo-Saxon geographies of sexualities, it is clear that geographers play an important role in understanding and researching various phenomena regarding human sexualities such as of the ways in which the immaterial translates into the material and vice versa. However, lest we forget, the current sensitivity to *difference* in the Anglo-American geographical context did not become appreciated just like that without an effort and procuration of the necessary disciplinary environment. Pioneers such as Barbara Weightman, Bob McNee and E. M. Ettore (Knopp 2010) were among the first few geographers who were bold enough to "clash" with others and prove that sexualities are an inherent part of geography's most general subject matter. Later, mostly Anglo-American geographers like Mickey Lauria, Lawrence Knopp, Linda McDowell, Jon Binnie, David Bell, Gill Valentine and many others have contributed to the consolidation of this field of research and have produced respectable amount of knowledge. And when I say Anglo-American, I most certainly do not want to overlook the development in the field of geographies of sexualities that took place "down-under" in Australia and New Zealand (Johnston, Longhurst 2008; Brickell 2000; Waitt, Markwell, Gorman-Murray 2008) nor I want to overlook the current heyday of geographies of sexualities in Ibero-America (Ferreira, Salvador 2014; Silva, Vieira 2014; Hutta 2013).

The "reality" is not out there waiting to be described or represented; in fact, we must partake in its continuous creation. The crisis of representation has suggested that it is perhaps better to resonate with "others" and with the "reality" rather than try to match it perfectly. Our capacity for understanding the complexity of world is limited not only by the limits of the symbolic of linguistic order that constitute our (sub)consciousness, but by the very understanding of relational, contextual and fluid state of things. Even if we took just a snapshot (one crosscutting image) of the whole reality, the understanding of postmodern and post-structuralist thoughts that I have striven to induce in this thesis will deny us the possibility for the ultimate accuracy. Nevertheless, I agree with these ideas; I do not believe that they mean giving up upon reaching a better understanding.

My research in the field of geographies of sexualities thus can be understood either in terms of "new" social geography, "new" economic geography, "new" cultural geography, or perhaps better as research in the field of post-structuralist or postmodern geography. This "new," that may often be read offensively since it creates the "old," should stand for being *sensitive to difference*, having developed an understanding of relationality, and perhaps most importantly having developed an understanding that geographical research does not study reality itself but instead representations of it. I do not want my research to be read as being in opposition to the "old;" for a postmodernist, time does not go *straight*. Sometimes it feels necessary to go back and revisit what some may call "old". Many scholars who have passed long ago still inform our ideas, and, without developing a truly deep understanding of their ideas and thoughts, we may never understand those that were based upon them.

For me and for most of the scholars that I put into conversation in this thesis, space is not "out there" to be discovered by some objective, disembodied researcher, but instead quite the opposite: we are part of space not only through our bodies but through our relations which take place in space, and at the same time contribute to its production, to production of meanings. It is "the performative" and "deconstructive" that should remind us that it is never finished, never complete, never fixed. The same applies to human identity or better to human subjectivity. All of these categories need to be perpetually discursively (re)produced and (re)constructed. Furthermore, neither of these categories is universal, and there can be found many variations that have developed across different semantic spaces, giving birth to certain and diverse identities with specific, (dis)similar material cultures and adjacent material spaces that help replicate or recreate them. Spaces such as various carnivals, gay bars, or gay villages are all material manifestations of culturally (and indeed semantically) created phenomena that once have been given to the culture by a limited number of people (during the process of institutionalization).

By using post-structuralism and various other theories in this thesis, I made it possible to ask difficult questions in geography, questions like: where do the meanings take concrete material forms and how do these material forms in turn influence those meanings? How are identities or spaces created, and how can be their immaterial quality transformed in society to take material forms?

What other discipline, after all, should trace and focus on the ways in which language is interlinked with the real world; in which meaning influences living; or perhaps simply on how the "*Geo*" (as in Earth or World) is being "*graphed*" (as in written, represented, understood or read)? In this thesis I offered a way of approaching and understanding several difficult questions: How come a term invented in 19th century gave birth to a distinct human species of "homosexuals"? How come gays, lesbians and queers nowadays mean so many things in so many contexts? How come a single term define the ways in which either of these newly created identities *must* negotiate their sexual lives in various public, private, semi-public/private or other spaces? How come it gave birth to whole distinct city districts – gay villages/ghettoes? How that it reshaped the images of whole cities such as Amsterdam, London or San Francisco? How come it is becoming increasingly embedded or even becomes a uniting factor for distinctiveness of entire nations, or regions (Australia, Ireland, Scandinavia, or very recently the whole US).

I find it truly perturbing that these questions have mostly been answered by scholarships in several social and humane disciplines, and Czech human geography has still so little to say about it or so few to speak for it. Similarly as feminist geographers have proven the discipline of geography to be masculinist, geographers of sexualities have pointed it out to be heterosexist and heteronormative. Geographers and other social scientists researching sexualities have all paid considerable attention to developing and adopting tools (such as queer theory), allowing them to examine the production of sexual identities. However, as a number of scholars have stressed, queering geography as a discipline itself is still largely missing. This thesis thus might be read not only as call for quitting the present squeamishness about sexualities in CEE geographical discourses, but also as a response to Jon Binnie's call for critical re-evaluation of those dominant methodologies in which geographers, as social scientists, were trained to uphold a clear distinction and distancing between the "reality out there" (which they map), and the "one in here" (of our bodies, ourselves, etc.) (Binnie 1997). It is thus obvious that geographers of sexualities, similarly to feminist geographers, seek to challenge this distancing and draw on in-depth qualitative methods, develop sensitivity to their positionality and take their own embodiedness seriously. In his own experience, Jon Binnie intimately shares his anxiety with needing to practice self-censorship and avoid embodied writing for fear of harming his chances of getting an academic job:

> "Embodying geography is easier in theory than in practice. I am also mindful that the autobiographical will seem cringe-making and embarrassing in years

to come. That I felt constrained by the bondage of conventional respectable academic discourse to disembody my own work in this way reflects the extent of homophobia within the discipline."

(Binnie 1997, p. 229)

Let me end this thesis by a rather uncomplicated but telling use of some of the approaches that I applied to sexualities in other context, outside the frontiers of investigating human sexualities. The applicability of this critical and deconstructive approaches is fitting in context of investigating the widespread stereotyping of certain subpopulations or understandings of people's regional identities.

Handling issues connected with national minorities in various national or regional contexts are also appropriate for being handled with post-structuralist or even queer approaches. How are these subpopulations being (under)represented, what discourses are dominant, how is language used to repress or (re)produce stereotypes about them? The various exclusions and restrictions (e.g. to access various spaces, institutions or jobs) affect these populations. A Foucauldian analysis of power, discursive analyses and deconstructions of identities need to be employed in order to investigate and better understand these subpopulations. The positionality of not only researchers as individuals but also of whole research groups and institutions should be developed in order to understand the gaps and constraints of contemporary situated knowledges, produced about these subpopulations.

Onřej Daniel (Daniel 2015) for example shows how cinematographic discursive (re)production stereotype "constitutes" what it is "to be Moravian". He focuses his discourse analysis on Czech films and TV series (e.g. *Jak básnící přícházejí o Iluze*; *Bobule*; *Bobule 2*; *Muži v říji*; *Vinaři*; *Bouřlivé a Mladé Víno*; etc.) and shows how these representations are in fact artfully created fabrications that construct imaginations in which a proper "Moravian" has to grow grapes, produce wine, overconsume alcohol (slivovitz, wine, etc.) and sing folk music. This fact then produces a form of ideology, or discourse that has *real effects* on local people's identities and lives. Eclipsing the fact that Moravia is a diverse region with many folk cultures and regions in which "no one grows" wine, these representations (enabled by the cinematographic) empower certain "Moravians", exoticize them in order to make them conveniently consumable as tourist spectacles (e.g. during popular wine cellar degustations) but in the very same process oppress other "Moravians" that might not meet the expectations (or norms) produced by these "powerful" discursive stereotyping. These practices than *performatively* reinforce those identities that were only recently fabricated (constructed upon stereotypes) with only partial "roots" in some minor Moravian regions that in fact “do grow” wine, etc. Stereotypes may for example meet “their expectations” in the South-Eastern Moravia, and specifically in its sub-region Slovácko. In turn it is these regions that get overrepresented (and more known) and prosper due to their consumption by tourism. Other Moravian regions, however, become “less prestigious”, “less powerful”, less “visible or known” and perhaps considered to be “less Moravian.” To conclude, it is no longer just upon the individual’s self-identification whether one identifies as Moravian, but rather it is dependent on the dispersed power relations within the wider and oppressive discursive fields. Over- or under-representation thus may lead to stereotyping, and a (re)production of imagination that may become hegemonic. The function of this power dynamic is thus not so dissimilar from that of non-heterosexuals’. Because similarly as to how Moravianism have been stereotyped, “homosexuality”, “gayness” and “lesbianism” have been too.

HORIZONS OF CZECH POSTMODERN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

Throughout the preceding sections of this thesis, I have striven to point out that geographies of sexualities are inextricably linked with the postmodern and post-structuralist scholarship. However, in Czechia it has only recently begun (Rochovská, Blažek, Sokol 2007; Blažek, Rochovská 2006; Pospíšilová, Pospíšilová 2014; Matoušek, Osman 2014; Pitoňák 2014).

Despite the contemporary progress, the divide between the Anglo-Saxon human geography scholarship and Czech or other CEE geographies remains wide. As I have discussed before, due to the influence of Soviet ideology and communism during the post-WWII period, Czech geographical tradition became almost completely isolated from the “West” and became deformed by the control of state socialism (Jeleček 2004, p. 17).

> “The main stream of basic geographic research in the 1950s was narrowed to a ideologically less “dangerous” physical geography,…speleology and geomorphology, in cartography to history of cartography, in economic and regional geography to settlement and population geography … altogether, one must emphasize the overall significant thematic lag of Czech geography in comparison with the world, the most crucial being the mis-interception of post-positivistic research trends.”
>
> (Jeleček 2004, pp. 17–18)

When Drbohlav, Kalvoda and Voženílek (2004) wrote about the new frontiers of Czech geography back in 2004, 15 years after the fall of communism in 1989, one could have been easily enchanted by their enthusiasm when they wrote that:

> "We now find a highly differentiated mosaic of topics in human geography. These include, for example, regional development and regional policy; political geography (including electoral geography); gender; the geography of marginalized groups (immigrants, the aged, gays and lesbians, women, children, the disabled, etc.)"
>
> (Drbohlav, Kalvoda, Voženílek 2004, p. 416)

However, even today, more than 10 years after that piece was written, Czech human geography has not delved into many of these "frontiers". Even if the development after the fall of communism has indeed weakened geography's formerly strong positivist and spatial-scientific orientation(Hampl 1971), it has not been able to develop a comprehensive discussion of post-structuralist and postmodern approaches. This "gap" is perhaps symptomatic to the persisting institutional isolation of Czech and Slovak geographic discourses from the circulation of knowledge and exchange of research results with the "West" (Bajerski, Siwek 2012). Bajerski and Siwek have demonstrated how isolated[71] Czech geography remains to be and pointed out that between the years 2000 and 2009 only 5 percent of publications in Czech key geographical journal Geography were written by foreign authors, out of which 87,5 percent come from former CEE post-socialist countries (Bajerski, Siwek 2012, pp. 56–57). I am convinced that this "state of things" is a significant impairment and at the same time the main reason why either cultural turn, postmodernism or post-structuralism, reaches us with such a delay. What I found most problematic is that we largely lack discussion about the postmodern approaches and post-structuralism, discussion that is necessary for development of "new" approaches and cultivation of knowledge about difference.

A notable exception to this was a geographical collection edited by Sýkora (1993), which includes timeless contributions from Sýkora, Pavlínek, Kára, Drbohlav, Blažek, Kostelecký and Jehlička. However, as the new edited collection by Matoušek and Osman (2014) suggests, it is only 22 years after Sýkora's collection when these

[71] According to results from bibliometric analysis conducted by Bajerski and Siwek in 2012, Czech geography remains not only discursively separated from human-geographical traditions outside of the Czech and Slovak national boundaries, but also from the other Czech social-scientific disciplines (Bajerski, Siwek 2012).

ideas start to penetrate into the Czech geographical mainstream. Moreover, it can be said that several contributions from closely related Slovak human geographers have had an important influence of development of qualitative methods and feminist approaches (Rochovská, Blažek, Sokol 2007; Blažek, Rochovská 2006).

Discussions about the postmodernism and post-structuralism are still rare. Therefore, before we engage in new discussions I would like point out to what Clarke (2006) has monished us about. He explicitly stated that geographers have often contributed to various second-hand misinterpretations of postmodernism and created many opacities about it (Harvey 1989; Soja 1989), and suggested that we should perhaps open our horizons and cultivate our interest in reading philosophy of knowledge first-hand and trying to understand the primary sources of postmodernism and post-structuralism before we judge them (Lyotard 1979; Haraway 1988; Butler 1990, 1993b; Derrida 1998; Foucault 1977, 1980, 1978; Barthes 1991).

This thesis was therefore also trying to fulfil this underlying aim: to open up various "meanings" and understandings that may in turn facilitate for making our human geography better and verbatim more about difference and "Other" humans.

AUTHOR'S AFTERWORD

There was a tremendous array of other issues that I could have raised in this thesis, but as I said at the beginning, I understand my thesis rather as a start of my journey then the end of it. When I finished my *pioneering* master's thesis 5 years ago, I thought that my journey ended. In a way, I did not believe it to end because it was already then when I knew that I found something that not only truly absorbed me but I also felt responsible about it. Following the completion of my master's studies, my supervisor Jana Spilková, without my knowing, nominated my master's thesis to rector's price. After I learned that I had won the prize, I knew my journey must continue. I knew at that moment that there is much more than just me. For a short time before I was awarded, I hesitated whether I should continue my studies and settle with a job and leave academia. After all, the very same day when I completed my master's studies, I had a job interview for a teacher's position at elementary school because my partner still had one more year at school and we needed financial security. At the same time I wanted to continue with my research; therefore, I become an elementary school teacher for 3 days during a week and applied to a doctoral program. A few weeks before I actually start with my doctoral study (October, 2011), I already asked for a short holidays and went to visit my first international conference abroad. As a coincidence, it was the first time when European Geographies of Sexualities Conference took place in Brussels and I was able to present selected results of my master's thesis abroad. This very first conference for me constituted a crucial moment which not only opened my eyes wide in regards of a vibrancy of geographies of sexualities as a field but also allowed me to meet my colleagues with whom I have met on many other occasions. Most importantly, I met Koessan Gabiam there with whom I conducted research and published an article that is now inherent part of this thesis. I managed to combine my job position as a teacher at the elementary school and my doctoral research only for one year. After my husband completed his university education, he decided to find a job and I decided to leave my job and fully concentrate on my doctoral research and writing. The main obstacle for being able to combine a job and doctoral research was a restraint in form of not being able to leave for internship or to travel longer and further for conferences. Most of the other doctoral students have other jobs to sustain themselves; however since my husband now could work for "us," I became freer and focused intensively on my research and publishing. Even though the past few years were indeed challenging and difficult, I enjoyed my doctoral research a lot. Pioneering of a *new field* is a great responsibility, I believe that I managed to make a connection with the international community of researchers, and by doing so, met many inspiring and nice people. I am looking forward to the continuation of this journey…

Reality is merely an illusion, albeit a very persistent one.

Albert Einstein

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V. ANNEX: INCLUDED ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

Publication I	PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Urban Spatiality in the context of (homo/hetero)sexuality: Introduction to a theoretical debate in geographies of sexualities. *GEOGRAFIE*. 2014. Vol. 119, no. 2, pp. 179–198. (IF=0.787)
Publication II	PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Queer space(s). In: MATOUŠEK, R. and OSMAN, R. (eds.): Prostor(y) Geografie. Karolinum, pp. 123–146. ISBN 978-80-246-2733-5.
Publication III	PITOŇÁK, M. (2013): Spatiality, institutionalization and contextuality of heteronormativity: Study of non-heterosexual identity negotiation in Czechia. *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum*. 2013. Vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 27–40.
Publication IV	GABIAM, K., PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Economic, Cultural and Social Factors Influencing the Development of Gay Businesses and Places: Evidence from the European Union. *Moravian Geographical Reports* [online]. 1 January 2014. Vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 2–17. (IF=0.341; 50 percent authorship)

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MICHAL PITOŇÁK

PROSTOROVOST MĚSTA V KONTEXTU (HOMO/HETERO)SEXUALITY: ÚVOD DO TEORETICKÉ DISKUSE GEOGRAFIÍ SEXUALIT

PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Urban spatiality in the context of (homo/hetero)sexuality: Introduction to a theoretical debate in geographies of sexualities. Geografie, 119, No. 2, pp. 179–198. – The relevance and importance of sexualities as a geographical issue is yet to be recognized in Czechia, wherefore the main purpose of this article is to give spark to momentum to Czech geographies of sexualities. Consecutively, understandings of the issue produced from outside of the 'West' may contribute to our general knowledge about diverse spatialities of sexualities. For the sake of coherence, I narrow my discussion to urban geographies of sexualities and their various epistemologies. I begin with presenting evidence which suggests that sexualities have already been considered to be an important geographical subject in most Anglophone countries over the past 20 years. For this reason, the article is focused mostly on an Anglo-Saxon literature review figuring sexualities as being either social relations, axis of difference, social identities or categories not less important than gender, race and social class. I highlight the importance of discourse and its role in the social construction of sexualities. Finally, I provide a possible course for the study and production of geographies of sexualities in Czechia.
KEY WORDS: geographies of sexualities – sexual identities – non-heterosexuality – "gay ghettoes" – "gay/pink economy" – heteronormativity – queer geography – Czechia.

Tento článek byl podpořen z grantového projektu GAUK GA UK č. 1092214 „Queer geografie: komodifikace, segregace a globalizace sexuálních identit ve městech?" a projektu SVV č. 260082 na katedře sociální geografie a regionálního rozvoje, Přírodovědecké fakulty UK v Praze.

Úvod

Cílem článku je seznámit čtenáře se studiem sexualit v geografii, s tématem, které je v české geografii prozatím netradiční. Anglosaská geografie a příbuzné sociálně-vědní obory již po několik desetiletí (zhruba od 80. a 90. let 20. století) s úspěchem odkrývají vzájemný vztah sexualit a prostoru, který problematizuje a zkoumá v rozmanitém spektru geografických podoborů obecně přijímaných jako geografie sexualit (Bell 1995; Bell, Valentine 1995a, 1995b; Brown, Knopp 2003; Browne, Lim, Brown 2007; Brown 2012, 2013; Browne, Nash 2010; Duncan 1996; Elder, Knopp, Nast 2003; Knopp 2001; Johnston, Longhurst 2009; Nayak, Jeffrey 2011; Pain 2001; Panelli 2004). Zájem o výzkum sexuality v sociálních vědách byl v 90. letech již tak značný, že se v anglosaském kontextu hovořilo o „sex mánii" (Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston 2008, s. 235). Zahraniční autoři si ale již koncem 90. let uvědomovali svou etnocentričnost (Binnie, Valentine 1999), tehdejší výzkumy se téměř výhradně týkaly anglicky mluvících zemí, a autoři tak volali po dalších perspektivách, po „korektivech" z jiných kulturních makroregionů. Primárním cílem tohoto příspěvku je tak povzbudit zájem českých geografů o studium sexualit, jež jsou v zahraničí již uznávaným předmětem studia geografie, a upozornit na to, že aplikace takto získaných poznatků přesahuje rámec sexualit. Cesta k tomuto uznání nebyla snadná a i v současné době se lze setkat s rozpaky a ožehavostí kolem tohoto tématu (Panelli 2004, s. 122). Klíčové bylo pochopení faktu, že sexuality jsou spolu se společenskou třídou, genderem a rasou jedním ze čtyř základních sociálních vztahů (Pain 2001, s. 123). Tyto čtyři sociální vztahy jsou (kulturními) geografy uvažovány rovněž za čtyři hlavní osy sociální diference[1] (Panelli 2004, s. 6; Ferguson 2013, s. 1). Velmi často jsou pak tyto čtyři hlavní kategorie, zvláště díky post-strukturalistickým přístupům, uvažovány rovněž jako kategorie sociálních identit (společenská třída, rasa, gender, sexualita), jež je třeba zkoumat ve spojitostech a jejich prostorovostech (Valentine 2002; Pain 2001, s. 121). Ať již tedy hovoříme o sociálních vztazích, osách diference či sociálních identitách, je v současnosti v rámci post-strukturalistických přístupů v geografii kladen stále větší důraz na tzv. intersekcionalitu (intersectionality / křížení nerovností), teoretickou perspektivu, která prosazuje studium vzájemných vztahů mezi jednotlivými sociálními kategoriemi (resp. sociálními identitami), které ve svých intersekcích tyto kategorie ovlivňují, ale i vytvářejí. Tato perspektiva tak stojí v opozici vůči izolovanému studiu jednotlivých identit (Valentine 2007; Dill, Zambrana 2013). Sexualita je například velmi úzce spojená s genderem (Phillips 2004), jak lze ilustrovat například tím, že heterosexualita je lidem přisuzována na základě asymetrických maskulinních a femininních genderových rolí, jež ve většině prostorů zakazují genderové prolínání či transgresi (Browne 2005; Browne, Lim, Brown 2007). Jsem přesvědčen, že zanedbávat kteroukoliv z těchto sociálních diferencí, v tomto případě sexualitu, znamená přehlížet důležitý aspekt diferencující, hierarchizující a strukturující společnost, prostor a čas (Hampl 1998).

Protože cílem tohoto článku nemůže být vyčerpávající přehled geografií sexualit či diskuse veškeré prostorovosti sexualit, nepokouším se zde o ucelené představení jejich vývoje, ale omezím se na jednu specifickou prostorovost sexuality, která byla v geografii studována nejdříve, pravděpodobně nejpodrobněji (Brown 2013) a stala se již tradiční součástí anglosaské geografie (Bell, Binnie 2004; Hubbard 2006, 2011). Cílem tohoto příspěvku je tak představení vybraných přístupů ve vývoji studia sexuality v prostoru měst tzv. „západní kultury"[2]. Tato oblast prošla značným vývojem, a ačkoliv nepokrývá celou oblast geografií sexualit, je možné v ní zachytit důležité vývojové momenty, které se promítly do vývoje celé této subdisciplíny geografie. Cílem této práce je rovněž dokázat širší relevanci tohoto studia pro všechny sociální geografy i výzkumníky z příbuzných oborů, jež nadále nemají zájem přehlížet význam os lidské diference. Nejprve ale představím některé vybrané termíny a přístupy, které jsou v oboru geografií sexualit klíčové a musí tedy předcházet jakékoliv další diskusi.

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1 Geografie ovlivněné postmoderními a post-strukturalistickými přístupy, zabývající se těmito diferencemi (někdy tedy tzv. geografie diference) jsou silně ovlivněné francouzskou filozofickou školou, do které lze zařadit např. Jacquese Derridu, Jacquese Lacana, Gillese Deleuze, Michela Foucaulta, Jean-Francoise Lyotarda, Pierre Bourdieu aj.

2 Označení „západní kultury" zde chápu obdobně např. jako např. Huntington (2001) či Inglehart, Welzen (2005).

Sexuality v geografii

Co vlastně geografové[3] sexualitou míní? Jednoznačně daleko více než jen sexuální touhu a chování jednotlivců. Vlivem postmoderních, post-strukturalistických a „queer“ konceptualizací je v současnosti již široce přijímáno, že sexuality nejsou přírodně nebo biologicky podmíněné, ale že jsou sociálně konstruované (Phillips 2004, s. 272; Foucault 1978; Bell, Valentine 1995). Sexuality jako „sociální konstrukty, nabývají nejrůznějších významů, u nichž jsou chápány různé funkce v různých časech a na různých místech, tyto významy mohou být rekonstruovány s ohledem na sociální, kulturní a politické trendy, potřeby a tlaky“ (Forrest, Ellis 2006, s. 92). Sexuality nelze celostně pojmout pomocí dualistických přístupů, jejichž příkladem jsou například ontologicky a epistemologicky znesváření esencialisté a sociální konstruktivisté. Esencialisté (např. biologové) soustavně hledají, prozatím bez úspěchu (Jenkins 2010, s. 288), esenci resp. podstatu sexualit (sexuální orientace) v genech, morfologii mozku, imunitním systému atd. (DeLamater, Hyde 1998). Vlastní etičnost takového úsilí je problematická, protože „důkazy esencialistických studií mají sklon být rukojmími v ideologiích jejich zastánců“ (Forrest, Ellis 2006, s. 92). Žádný z esencialistických přístupů není schopen vysvětlit, proč sexuality nabývají v různých prostorech a časech různých podob. Příkladem mohou být zcela odlišné sexuality původních obyvatel Severní Ameriky tzv. Berdache, antických Řeků, soudobých novo-guinejských kmenů Etoro či Sambia, „gayů“ v San Francisku, či lidí dnes žijících v arabských zemích. K zodpovězení této otázky přispěla geografie a příbuzné sociálně-vědní disciplíny, chápající sexuality sociálně-konstruktivisticky jako „rozličný soubor sexuálních preferencí a identit, které jsou kulturně a sociálně sestaveny či konstruovány skrze diskurzy, prostory a vztahy mezi lidmi“ (Panelli 2004, s. 114). Sexualitu lze popsat i jako část lidské komplexní identity, jež „obsahuje smysl sebe, ve kterém jsou sexuální city, ideologie, touhy a potřeby vzájemně integrovány a sladěny se způsoby (módy) sexuálního vyjadřování a chování“ (Forrest, Ellis 2006, s. 93).

Sexuální identity (a chování) tak nejsou esenciálními kategoriemi, ale jsou výsledkem (jejich) neustálé (re)konstrukce, nad kterou mají lidé v určitých prostorech a časech, různou míru autonomie. Jinými slovy příslušnost k sexuálním identitám do značné míry závisí na naší schopnosti, popř. možnosti/nutnosti je skrývat. Toto je umožněno rovněž tím, že sexualita navenek objektivně resp. rozpoznatelně neoznačuje tělo člověka takovým způsobem, jakým jej označuje příslušnost k dalším osám diference jako k etnicitě, rase, pohlaví či genderu (Takács, Mocsonaki, Tóth 2008). Za „homosexuála“ či za „heterosexuála“ tak nelze uvažovat někoho, kdo prostě „je“, ale je vždy potřeba uvažovat s ohledem na prostor a čas či obecný kontext, ve kterém se jím „může/musí stávat“ (více Pitoňák 2013). Každý „ne-heterosexuál[4]“ se tak nejprve musí/může

[3] Z důvodu absence české feministicko-geografické literatury (světlou výjimkou je slovenská publikace Blažek, Rochovská 2006) pouze podotýkám, že užívám tvarů mužského rodu (generického maskulina) v zájmu zachování gramatických zvyklostí, konsistence a tradice českého jazyka, v žádném případě však ne jako nástroje patriarchálního útlaku.

[4] Pojem ne-heterosexuál (popř. neheterosexuál) je vhodnou inklusivní alternativou, vztahující ke všem osobám, jež nejsou heterosexuální, je alternativou pro nestálý akronym LGBT(IQA), který až na výjimky nepoužívám.

„sebe-identifikovat“[5], popřípadě tak musí být ostatními označen. Je klíčové chápat, že jakékoliv identifikovatelné znaky, které jsou kulturně přisouzeny např. „homosexuálům“, nejsou jejich esencemi, ale sociálními konstrukcemi, jež podléhají neustále (re)konstrukci. Sexuální identity proto vnímáme jako „kulturně a ideologicky konstruované subjektivity a označení, které slouží i odporují dominantním formám moci“ (Brown, Knopp 2003, s. 313).

Moc je proto potřeba také chápat jako činnou v diskursech a reprezentacích (tamtéž), a nejen v konvenčnějších materiálních praktikách (např. nátlaku či násilí). Uvědomění si komplexního působení moci vede k chápání, kdy i akademická práce je vnímána jako značně (a uvědoměle) zpolitizovaná (Brown, Knopp 2003, s. 313). Uvažovat produkci akademického textu a užívání terminologie jako něčeho neutrálního, apolitického či dokonce objektivního by bylo proto naivní.

Nyní se krátce pozastavím u terminologie týkající se historických kategorií sexuálních identit, kterými jsou především „homosexualita“ a „heterosexualita“. Nedbalým užíváním těchto termínů můžeme přispívat k šíření medikalizujících a patologizujících diskurzů, ve kterých tyto termíny historicky vznikly (American Psychological Association 1991, Foucault 1978). Termín „homosexuál“ zavedl na konci 18. století Karoly Maria Kertbény (Foucault 1978, Fanel 2000, Seidl 2012) a v průběhu 19. a 20. století byl užíván psychiatry a sexuology k označení duševní choroby, úchylky či deviace, a proto nabyl patologické, medicínské konotace. S vědomím značného zjednodušování lze v historickém pohledu několika posledních staletí podle Foucaulta v „západní kultuře“ hovořit o změně vnímání „sodomitů“ (zločinců „smilníků“), jež překračovali zákon, k novému druhu člověka, „homosexuálovi“ „duševně nemocnému“ (Foucault 1978). Diskursivně se tak dřívější zločinec (sodomita/smilník) proměnil v „patologického homosexuála“. Teprve až ve druhé polovině 20. století došlo v psychiatrii k pokroku a posílení vlivu nejrůznějších poválečných lidskoprávních hnutí (nejčastěji v USA) a „homosexualita“ byla vyškrtnuta ze seznamu duševních onemocnění. Oficiálně se stala rovnocennou variantou lidské sexuality (American Psychological Association 1991, Weiss 2003). Ačkoliv má termín „homosexualita“ v současném odborném diskurzu stanovený význam, jeho přetrvávající společenská konotace je stále zatížena svou medikalizací. Je třeba zároveň zdůraznit, že světoví odborníci na sexualitu již téměř 60 let uznávají, že rozlišování na dvě „dualistické“ sexuality je nedostatečné a nereflektuje lidskou rozmanitost (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin 1948; Forrest, Ellis 2006, s. 91). Je proto potřeba mít na zřeteli, že termíny „homosexualita“ a „heterosexualita“ mohou v nevhodně užitých kontextech přispívat k šíření diskurzů, které nejsou ve vyspělých zemích a regionech (např. EU) v současnosti upřednostňovány.

K dalším hojně užívaným kategoriím sexuálních identit patří „gay[6]“ či „lesba“. „Gay“ a „lesba“, jako kategorie sexuálních identit, v minulosti „konsolidovaly“

[5] Jak naznačují výzkumy, tak například homosexuální chování (akty) nejsou nutnou bází pro (sebe)konstrukci „homosexuální“ identity, protože bylo prokázáno, že za určitých podmínek je běžné nejen u heterosexuálů (například ve věznicích), ale i u „homosexuálů“ neidentifikujících se s „homosexualitou“, žijících například na venkově (Binnie, Valentine 1999) nebo v rámci represivního heteronormativního režimu (Himl, Seidl, Schindler 2013).

[6] Termín „gay“ v anglické literatuře někdy zahrnuje i ne-heterosexuální ženy.

v rámci politických a aktivistických reakcí právě na dřívější pejorativní a z vnějšku přisouzenou „homosexuální" identitu. Rozsáhlá literatura ovlivněná feministickou či „queer" teorií[7] ale upozornila i na jejich problematičnost a exkluzivitu. Podle některých autorů tyto sexuální identity „zkonsolidovaly" poněkud rigidně a vyloučily mnohé další ne-heterosexuály jako transsexuály, bisexuály, příslušníky z jiných etnik či věkových skupin atd. (Jagose 1996). Představa o univerzálnosti „lesbické" a „gay" identity či komunity tak nebyla politicky ani teoreticky udržitelná (Binnie, Valentine 1999, s. 181). Na tuto skutečnost, velmi zjednodušeně řečeno, v 90. letech reagovala vznikající „queer" teorie, nepolapitelný „anti-normativní obrat v rámci feminismu, gay a lesbických studií, kritické sociální teorie a další oblasti společenských věd" (Brown, Knopp 2003, s. 313). „Queer" teorie přehodnotila sociální vztahy, včetně těch sexuálních, a využila k tomu postmoderní podezřívavosti k metanarativům (Lyotard 1993), post-strukturalismu i širší kritické sociální teorie. „Queer" perspektiva byla aplikována i na heterosexualitu, problematizovala její přirozenost a domnělou homogenitu a odhalila její velmi rozmanité a nesourodé množiny. Sama podstata identit a politik jejich „vyjednávání" („negotiation") se stala předmětem akademické diskuse a kritiky (Pitoňák 2013). Geografické přístupy ovlivněné post-přístupy[8], především pak „queer" teorií proto volají po dekonstrukci identit, kritice jejich politik („identity politics") a hledání cest k porozumění jejich komplexně se prolínajících vztahů. Homosexuální, heterosexuální, gay, lesbické, bisexuální, transsexuální, asexuální, intersexuální, aj. identity nejsou všezahrnující a je třeba je vnímat v rámci širších dynamik, prolínajících se os lidské diference, tzn. přijmout intersekcionální přístup (Valentine 2007, Brown 2012).

Než se ale geografové sexualit svými argumenty dostali takto daleko, bylo potřeba zjistit, jak geografie vlastně souvisí se sexualitou. Nejprve proto počátkem 90. let 20. století poukázali na to, že veřejný prostor je dominantně „heterosexuální" (Phillips 2004), že většina prostorů (pracoviště, ulice, domovy, restaurace aj.) je regulována „samozřejmou" (naturalizovanou) heterosexuální normou, která často vylučuje otevřené projevy (performance) ne-heterosexuality (Valentine 1993). Upozornili na to, že tato norma je umocňována například vládními politikami (místní i celonárodní úrovně), které daňově, zdravotně, penzijně, imigračně zvýhodňují heterosexuální páry a (jejich) nukleární rodiny, zatímco tyto výhody odpírají gayům, lesbám a dalším ne-heterosexuálům (Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston 2008). Jedním z klíčových pojmů geografií sexualit se proto stala heteronormativita[9], kterou lze přiblížit srovnáním se známějším feministickým konceptem, patriarchátem. Patriarchát upozorňuje na nerovné mocenské vztahy mezi gendery (a pohlavími), heteronormativita pak odkrývá nerovné postavení lidí z hlediska jejich sexualit, bývá s ní nakládáno

7 „Queer" teorie je společné označení pro „nejrůznější intervence zaměřené na destabilizaci heterosexuální normy, jež se soustředí na demonstrování sociální a prostorové konstruovanosti původu všech sexuálních identit" (Howell 2009, s. 122).

8 Obecně termínem „post-přístupy" uvažuji post-pozitivismus, post-strukturalismus, postmodernismus, post-kolonialismus, feministickou a „queer" teorii.

9 Rozdíly mezi termíny heteronormativita, heterosexismus a homofobie diskutuje např. Polášková (2009). Více o institucionalizaci heteronormativity např. v teorii performativity Judith Butler (Butler 1990, 1993) a v Pitoňák (2013).

jako s normou, která strukturuje a reguluje jedinou „normální“ variantu lidské sexuality (Pratt 2009, s. 329; Spargo 2001). Heteronormativita je v kultuře (nejen naší) široce historicky diskurzivně zakořeněna, a to i navzdory faktu, že „homosexualita“ i „heterosexualita“ mají v rozvinutých společnostech již legálně uznaný rovnocenný status.

S pomocí post-přístupů bylo možné odhalit, že „každodenní prostory jsou produkovány skrze sociální praktiky“ (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007, s. 2), a objevila se tak důležitost analyzovat vztahy mezi rozmanitými populacemi, včetně zkušeností těch, které byly z prostorů vyloučeni (Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston 2008, s. 236). Ve specifických místech a prostorech jsou produkovány nejrůznější formy sexualit pomocí specifických prostorových praktik, které podléhají nezkrotně kreativním regulačním režimům (Howell 2009, s. 122). „Sexuality… ovlivňují prostory, ve kterých žijeme, sociální vztahy i rozhodnutí, se kterými se setkáváme“ (Panelli 2004, s. 111). V naší kultuře je na veřejnosti zcela běžné, když se na ulici vzájemně drží muž se ženou, nijak nevzbuzují pozornost, jejich naturalizovaná heterosexualita je totiž „neviditelná“ (Valentine 1993, Duncan 1996). Procházejí-li se ale na ulici dva muži, kteří se drží za ruce, jsou v lepším případě vystaveni odsuzujícím pohledům a v horším případě různým formám diskriminace či násilí z nenávisti. Zjevní ne-heterosexuálové jsou proto de facto z veřejných prostorů vyloučeni. Těmto vyloučením ale aktivně vzdorují a jsou rovněž činní v procesech produkce prostoru. Z tohoto důvodu byla již zkoumána celá řada prostorů, včetně „gay čtvrtí“, prostorů domova (Johnston, Valentine 1995), gay klubů a barů (Valentine, Skelton 2003), lázní (Fanel 2000), turistických či festivalových prostorů (Johnston 2005; Markwell, Waitt 2009), ale i prostor těla (Panelli 2004). Ne-heterosexuální prostory jsou ovšem často nestabilní („fluidní“), neustále ohrožované heterosexuální většinou (Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston 2008, s. 236).

Předmětem geografií sexualit (ani „queer“ geografie) není studium esenciální podstaty sexuální orientace, ale zkoumání sociálně-konstruovaných, a proto nezbytně prostorových dimenzí sexuálního chování a sexuálních identit, včetně perspektiv a specifik menšinových sexualit, které s úspěchem překonávají a dekonstruují dualistické a normativní způsoby myšlení. Nyní již tedy zúžím zaměření tohoto příspěvku a budu se zabývat vývojem dnes již klasické oblasti geografie sexualit, která se zaměřila na zkoumání měst.

Město a (homo)sexualita

Menšinové sexuální orientace jsou napříč prostory, časy a kulturami vnímány odlišně. V naší „západem ovlivněné kultuře“ bylo menšinové sexuální chování vnímáno jako „odchylka“ od normy již od dob šíření křesťanství (Waaldijk 2000) a společnost k němu přistupovala většinou s různou mírou perzekuce (Fanel 2000, Foucault 1978, Seidl 2012). Bohužel ani v současnosti, navzdory existující legislativě, nejsou tyto postoje výjimkou (European Commission 2009) a ne-heterosexuálové se ze strany společnosti stále setkávají s různou mírou nepřijetí, perzekuce či s násilím z nenávisti.

Především „gayové“ a „lesby“ jsou identitami, které často spojujeme s prostředím měst (Hubbard 2011). Existuje pro toto několik vysvětlení, z nichž některá mají poněkud deterministický charakter. Navzdory tomu, že se ne-heterosexuálové často naučili žít životy neuspokojené a skryté, vyhledávali prostředí/prostory, které v rámci heteronormativity splňovaly některé nutné předpoklady jejich koncentrace. Tímto prostředím se stala právě velká města. Jen zde byl dostatek anonymity a rozmanitosti resp. nižší míry sociálního dohledu (Milgram 1970; Hubbard 2006, 2011), nutných pro vznik tolerantnějších (marginálních, okrajových) prostorů např. ve formě doků či bohémských čtvrtí. Tyto oblasti jsou někdy nazývány jako prahové („liminal“) nebo neřestné („red-light distrikty“) a byly zpočátku pro existenci, ať už otevřených[10] nebo tajných, „homosexuálních“ prostorů nutné (Miller 2009, s. 303). Velká města lákala i spřátelené alternativní životní styly (bohémy, kulturní avantgardu) a již na začátku 20. století byli členové těchto společností k „homosexualitě“ a jiným soudobým „alternativnostem“ tolerantní (Chauncey 1994). Mnozí autoři tak hovoří o tradiční rezidenční koncentraci „homosexuálů“ ve městech (Castells 1983, Laumann a kol. 1994, Hubbard 2006). Pokoušet se o měření koncentrace homosexuálů by ale bylo přinejmenším metodologickou chybou, stanovovat koncentraci „homosexuálů“ v pozitivistickém smyslu by spíše znamenalo pokus o zachycení míry určité sociální-konstruovanosti či sebe-identifikace „homosexuálů“ v daném čase a místě, která je ve městech (z uvedených důvodů) tradičně vyšší.

Historické záznamy dopodrobna popisují prostorové životy „homosexuálů“ ve vnitřních čtvrtích New Yorku (Chauncey 1994), Londýna (Binnie 1995), ale i Prahy (Fanel 2000; Seidl 2012). Charakter těchto „prostorovostí homosexuality“ se v těchto i dalších městech měnil, vždy v závislosti na právních, společenských, ekonomických aj. normách. Zároveň se mnohdy, právě působením přítomnosti „homosexuálů“, měnila i tato města. V následující části článku se pokusím shrnout práce urbánních geografů sexuality a dalších výzkumníků, jež se této problematice intenzivně věnovaly.

Vybrané přístupy urbánní geografii sexualit

Zájem zahraničních urbánních geografů o sexuality lze stopovat přinejmenším k prvním pracím věnujícím se této problematice v tzv. chicagské škole urbánní sociologie z 20. let 20. století. Tyto práce se mimo jiné zabývaly identifikací zanedbaných městských oblastí; popisován byl i územní výskyt „sexuálních deviantů“, prostituce či kriminality. Teoreticky byly tyto práce zakotveny většinou v přístupu urbánní sociální ekologie. V kontextu sexuality byly studovány tehdy „neviditelné fenomény“ (Miller 2009, s. 303), které se zviditelňovaly a lokalizovaly. O „homosexuální“ prostituci v Chicagu se ve své knize *The hobo* z roku 1923 poprvé zmínil Wirth, který později studoval etnická ghetta, prostorové uspořádání města a jeho práce *The Ghetto* (Wirth 1928) se stala základem pro pozdější studie sexualit. (Homo)sexuality mohly být

[10] Příkladem může být „homosexuální“ (ať tajný či otevřený) komerční prostor („gay bar“), k jehož ekonomické udržitelnosti je nutné uvažovat relativně velkou zdrojovou populaci, nad 50 tis. obyvatel (Miller 2009, s. 303), protože ne-heterosexuálních lidí není v populaci příliš vysoké procento.

v geografickém kontextu studovány až v době, kdy bylo možné otevřeně se ptát: zdali existují ve městech (amerických) identifikovatelné „gay komunity". Po dlouhou dobu to, kvůli homofobnímu společenskému diskurzu, nebylo možné, proto až na konci 80. let americký sociolog Martine Levine ve svém výzkumu jako první identifikoval „gay ghetta". Levine aplikoval Wirthova kritéria etnického ghetta a výsledky shrnul ve své práci *The Gay Ghetto* (Levine 1979), kde popsal tři zcela vyvinutá „gay ghetta" v New Yorku, San Francisku a Los Angeles. Hlavním přínosem jeho pionýrské práce bylo probuzení zájmu o problematiku segregace „gayů" a upozornění na metodologická úskalí vyvstávající z pokusů o měření rezidenčních koncentrací „gayů" ve městech (Miller 2009, s. 304). Studie z tohoto období se až na výjimky (Ettore 1978) věnovaly pouze „gayům", zájem o studium prostorovostí „leseb" byl v této době zanedbatelný. Dalším významným „prostorovým sociologem", který se zabýval problematikou „gay" prostorů (a zčásti i „lesbických"), byl Manuel Castells, který se je ve své knize *City and the grassroots* (Castells 1983) pokoušel i zmapovat. Castells se zaměřil na čtvrť Castro v San Franciscu, kde zkoumal oblasti „gay" rezidenční a komerční koncentrace. Poprvé upozornil také na spojitosti mezi „gay" obyvateli a procesem gentrifikace (Brown, Knopp 2003, s. 317; Howell 2009, s. 120). „Gayové" podle Castellse, díky svým relativně vyšším disponibilním příjmům[11], které vyvstávají z podstaty, že nemohou zakládat rodiny, a dosahují na vyšší/lépe placené pozice, mohli využívat svého „ekonomického potenciálu" ke skupování zanedbaných sanfranciských nemovitostí a investovat do jejich rekonstrukce. Významně se tak ve čtvrti Castro svou gentrifikací zapojili do procesu urbánní regenerace. Castellsova práce se nevyhnula kritice, především ze strany feministických geografek. Adler a Brenner (1992) například kritizovaly jeho esencialistické pojetí „gayů", kdy zcela přehlížel, že jde ve skutečnosti o velmi různorodou (ekonomicky, sociálně, rasově, etnicky, atd.) skupinu ne-heterosexuálních mužů. Nekriticky stereotypoval „gaye" a jejich životy jako segregované od heterosexuálů (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007). Silnou kritiku si Castells vysloužil i díky pohledu na „lesby", které vnímal esencialisticky jako ne-teritoriální ženy, údajně preferující vytváření „nehmotných sociálních svazků" (Castells 1983, s. 140). Specifickému „kvazi-podsvětnímu" charakteru „lesbických komunit" se později věnovala až Podmore (2001). Přes všechny tyto nedostatky Castellsova práce přilákala pozornost geografů ke studiu spojitostí a vlivů sexualit na městský prostor.

Problematika urbánní regenerace byla v 80. letech v USA velmi populární, sílil i vliv kritické sociální teorie a v geografii se formoval plodný dialog mezi příznivci „post-přístupů" na straně jedné v čele s feministickými geografy a na straně druhé proudy marxistických přístupů v čele s radikálními geografy (Chouinard 1997). Geografové Lauria a Knopp (1985) ve své práci tak nad rámec gentrifikace a urbánní regenerace již konkrétněji problematizovali i mocenské vztahy „gayů", především pak jejich politickou organizovanost, jež byla jedním ze specifických faktorů, které vedly k vývoji prostorové koncentrace

11 Z tohoto důvodu se v angličtině setkáme s poněkud pejorativními, avšak rozšířenými akronymy S/DINKs (Single / Dual Income No Kids), jež značí ekonomický potenciál „gayů". Lesby díky možnosti mateřství a kulturně nižší sociální perzekuci, nebyly takto ekonomicky stereotypovány.

Obr. 1 – Manchester's Gay Village (vlevo), Oxford street v Sydney během festivalu Mardi Gras (vpravo). Foto: M. Pitoňák.

homosexuálního obyvatelstva v USA. Poukázali na širší ekonomické vztahy a politické důsledky koncentrace „homosexuálů“ v prostoru (dosahování regionálních politických cílů). Knopp později řešil i širší otázky související s „gayi“, gentrifikací a urbánní politickou ekonomií v kontextu prostorových dynamik kapitalismu (Knopp 1987).

Viditelné a tedy relativně snadno identifikovatelné koncentrace „homosexuálních“ obyvatel byly zpočátku spíše severoamerickým (z části i australským a britským) fenoménem, kde specifické politické, ekonomické a společenské prostředí vytvořily podmínky, jež umocnily zformování „gay ghett“ (Pain 2001, s. 138), které se později začaly označovat méně pejorativně jako „gay vesnice“ („gay village“). Takové oblasti jsou tedy charakteristické vysokou rezidenční koncentrací „gayů“ (jež ovlivňují místní samosprávy), ale také koncentrací podniků cílících na specifickou klientelu v podobě gay klubů, barů, restaurací aj. Pravděpodobně nejlepším současným příkladem „gay vesnice“ je West Hollywood city v Los Angeles (Miller 2009), Canal Street v Manchesteru nebo Oxford Street v Sydney (obr. 1). Oblastí se signifikantně vyšší koncentrací „lesbických prostorů“ existuje jen velmi málo (Pain 2001, s. 138). Koncentrace „gay“ komerčních podniků, vzniklých díky relativně liberálním podmínkám tržních ekonomik (zpočátku především v USA), umožnila mapování a zviditelnění ve společnosti jinak nepříliš viditelných ne-heterosexuálů. Bylo by však omylem předpokládat, že existence těchto podniků byla v USA okamžitě společností tolerována. Silně heteronormativní a diskriminační prostředí bylo jednou z podmínek, které „homosexuály“ donutily migrovat do těchto „gay vesnic“, motivací jim bylo získání kolektivní komunitní ochrany[12]. Ještě v 60. letech se tyto komunity se svými podniky stávaly terčem útoků, a to i ze strany policie. Dnes již legendární útok policistů na podnik *Stonewall Inn* v New Yorku roku 1969 podnítil masové povstání „gayů“ a jejich příznivců (Bell, Valentine 1995; Jagose 1996; Phillips 2004, s. 269), které vedlo k založení tradice „průvodů hrdosti“ („pride parades / marches“). Dnes jsou tyto události organizovány každoročně i v dalších zemích (včetně Česka), kde přispívají k narušování heteronormativity, zviditelnění ne-heterosexualit a zrovnoprávnění lidí všech

[12] Život v „gay vesnici“ Castro v San Francisku vykresluje například film *Milk* z roku 2008.

sexualit. Dnes mnohdy rozptýlené „gay“ podniky jsou i dlouho po zlepšení společenských podmínek skryté, maskované, případně chráněné ochrankou (Matejskova 2007).

Poněkud odlišný vývoj prostorové přítomnosti měli ne-heterosexuálové v Evropě, kde pochopitelně také nechyběli, ale v rámci odlišného socio-politického prostředí a uspořádání „socializovali v prostoru spíše neviditelně“, opět téměř výhradně ve velkých městech (např. Londýn, Paříž, Praha). Tyto prostory nabývaly nejrůznějších „tajných“ forem a vyskytovaly se samozřejmě i v jiných oblastech světa (včetně USA), které nebyly viditelně rozmanitosti lidských sexualit nakloněné. V západní Evropě ale přetrvávaly v relativně neviditelné podobě až do 80. let 20. století. Jednalo se například o veřejné prostory parků, náměstí či různých nároží, které byly známé (především uvnitř komunity) jako setkávací prostory či prostory intimních kontaktů, v češtině pro ně existuje termín „holandy“ (Fanel 2000), užívá se často ale anglický termín „cruising spots“. V evropských městech tedy nedošlo[13] k vytvoření „gay ghett“ resp. rezidenčních koncentrací, podobných těm v USA či Austrálii. Od konce 80. let v souladu s liberalizací většiny evropských společností (Inglehart, Welzen 2005; Waaldijk 2000), ke které přispěly především lidsko-právní reformy, započaté v 60. letech v USA, došlo k výraznému omezení diskriminace „homosexuálů“ ze strany institucí. Významnou roli sehrálo i již zmíněné rozpoznání ekonomického potenciálu „gayů“ (S/DINKs), zvýrazňující jejich roli v rámci městských ekonomik. K dalším pokrokům na poli geografie sexualit přispěli především britští geografové, kteří byli inspirováni „novými“ kulturními vlivy „kulturního obratu“ v sociálních vědách. Významnou oblastí, na kterou se soustředili, byly politiky propagace nových „gay čtvrtí“ („gay village“, „gayborhood“) a jejich dopadů na městské ekonomiky (Brown 2013).

Jak časná kritika Castellse naznačovala, „homosexuálové“ byli stereotypováni jako mladí, bělošští, vytříbení či bohatí „gayové“. Další kritika sílila v podobě nově vznikajícího intelektuálního proudu myšlení, „queer“ teorie, jejíž nepolapitelný vliv byl natolik citelný, že se jí začalo říkat „queer“ geografie (Browne, Nash 2010). Ekonomické stereotypování a neoklasický přístup ke gayům si získaly přezdívku „pink pound“ („růžová libra“) a kriticky se touto problematikou zabýval např. Binnie (1995). Binnie studoval rozvoj „gay“ prostorů v kontextu samospráv a podnikatelských subjektů, které spolu v atmosféře ekonomické recese raných 90. let spolupracovaly s místními „gay“ komunitami a vytvářely městské prostory orientované na „gaye“ (či spíše na jejich „růžové libry“). Studoval londýnskou čtvrť Soho kolem Old Compton Street a také nizozemský Amsterdam, kde i místní vláda pomáhala „gay“ podnikům a zastávala se o „gay práva“, aby bylo možné město jako celek propagovat jako mezinárodní „gay“ metropoli. Obě tyto „revitalizační strategie“ (v Londýně i v Amsterdamu) Binnie popsal jako „spojenectví mezi ‚queer‘ politikami a růžovým kapitálem“. Odkryl, že hlavním zájmem bylo do těchto konkurujících si postindustriálních měst přilákat investice, („gay“) migranty a národní či mezinárodní turisty (Binnie 1995, Johnston 2001). Postupem času i další geografové (Rushbrook 2002, Johnston 2005) explicitně upozornili na „kapitalistickou a heteronormativní“

[13] Určitou výjimkou byl Londýn, ale ani zde tyto prostory neměly výlučně rezidenční charakter, chápány byly jako prostory avantgardy atd.

manipulaci s „gayi“ v rámci procesu gay komodifikace (Bruce, Yearley 2006), ve které je z „homosexuálů“ aktivně vytvářena „gay konzumní kultura“, „obchodní artikl“. Quilley (1997) tak na příkladu manchesterské Canal Street píše o „touze města“ přilákat turisty pod nálepkou kosmopolitní rozmanitosti. Díky těmto procesům se v průběhu 90. let v největších evropských městech objevily viditelné „gay vesnice“, příkladem mohou být čtvrti Le Marais v Paříži (Sibalis 2004), Soho v Londýně (Binnie 1995) či Chueca v Madridu (Boivin 2011).

Dřívější deskriptivní práce postupně nahradily novější, které inklinovaly ke „queer“ teorii a jiným post-přístupům, reagovaly např. na AIDS aktivismus ve městech (Brown 1995) či sílící „queer“ politiky. Mnohé práce demonstrovaly nedostatečnost strukturalistických paradigmat (Bell, Valentine 1995; Bell a kol. 1994; Brown 1994; Knopp 1998). Pozornost se přesunula na sexuální významy městského veřejného prostoru, ke konfliktům souvisejícím se způsoby konstruovanosti prostoru, na studium sexualizovaných performancí (např. průvody hrdosti) a nejrůznější prostorové strategie upevňující či odporující heteronormativitě. Podle Bella a Binnieho (2004) se města stala primárním místem materializace sexuální identity, komunity a souvisejících politik či konfliktů.

V této souvislosti nabyla na významu kritická diskuse využití ideologie kosmopolitismu, která byla využita k propagaci „gay vesnic“ a průvodů hrdosti. Binnie a Skeggs (podle Žižeka 1997) o kosmopolitismu hovoří jako o soudobém „cynickém záchvěvu kapitalismu zahrnout diferenci (i tu, která je s ním v rozporu) k užitku, v zájmu kapitalistické potřeby expandovat na nové trhy“ (Binnie, Skeggs 2004, s. 41). Post-industriální trhy volnočasového konzumu rozvinuly nové formy marketingu městského prostoru a městské „gay prostory“ začaly být propagovány jako kosmopolitní podívaná („spectacle“). Ať již tomu bylo ve formě „gay vesnic“, pravidelných karnevalů či zmíněných průvodů hrdosti. Známým příkladem je např. každoroční Mardi Gras v Sydney (Markwell 2002), evropská Europride či Prague Pride v Praze. Získaná viditelnost „gayů“ a „leseb“ je tak zřetelně spojená s tzv. „momentem gay marketingu“ (Jayne 2006, s. 119) a rozvojem diskurzu „růžové ekonomiky“. „Gayové“ a „lesby“ jsou podněcováni ke konzumu (míst a těl) pomocí médií a pestré škály cestovních „gay průvodců“[14] či reklam v nejrůznějších „růžových magazínech“. Tento boom „růžové ekonomiky“ se se zpožděním dostává i do Česka, což lze mimo jiné doložit vznikem nových „gay“ a „lesbických“ cestovních kanceláří (např. PinkGo) či zájmem české státní agentury Czechtourism (Šindelářová 2008). Diskutované skutečnosti zahájily diskuzi týkající se svobod a produkovaných vyloučení (vně mainstreamových „gayů a leseb“), postavených na schopnosti konzumovat a být konzumováni (Jackson 1989). Konstrukce takovéto „gay či lesbické identity“ přináší ne-heterosexuálům nejenom omezená práva, ale i nebezpečí ve formě šíření pejorativních heteronormativních diskurzů o „západních homosexuálech jako hyper-mobilních, bohatých a privilegovaných konzumentech“ (Binnie, Skeggs 2004, s. 43–44). Právě z důvodů progresivní komodifikace „gayů a leseb“ v posledních letech stoupá i zájem o „gaye a lesby“ i v oborech jako „leissure studies“, cestovní ruch či v ekonomice. „Gay“ a „lesbický“ turizmus v geografii

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[14] Nejznámějším je zajisté i v akademické sféře často citovaný průvodce Spartacus International gay guide, který vychází každoročně od roku 1970.

studuje celá řada autorů (např. Elder 1995 či Johnston 2001, 2005). Otázkou zůstává, do jaké míry je emancipace „homosexuálů“ (ve městech) „podporována“ ekonomicky a do jaké míry jde o liberální či post-materiální vývoj společností (Inglehart, Welzen 2005). Přikláním se k názoru, že ideologie kosmopolitismu je často zneužita jako marketingová klička, zakrývající záměr konzumovat (sexuální) diferenci jako spektakulární podívanou (Binnie, Skeggs 2004). Soudobé město je mnohdy chápáno jako místo s novými příležitostmi pro dříve marginalizované skupiny, současně tyto skupiny ale nadále rozděluje a tvoří. Genderově, věkově, aktivisticky, majetkově, rasově či tělesně vyloučené skupiny ne-heterosexuálů nadále nemají ve městech příliš prostorů, ve kterých by mohli „bezpečně“ existovat, nemají-li zájem či prostředky konzumovat či být konzumováni (Binnie, Skeggs 2004).

V souvislosti s různou měrou přijímání „homosexuality“ ve městech zde chci diskutovat ještě jeden zajímavý koncept související s problematikou post--industriálních ekonomik novodobých metropolí. Příkladem je sice poněkud populistická, ale nikoliv nezajímavá práce amerického urbánního teoretika Richarda Floridy, který dal do souvislosti problematiku rozvoje měst s rozmanitostí jejich obyvatelstev. Florida v podstatě upozornil na to, že v období konkurence soudobých měst (Sassen 2006) již lidský a sociální kapitál nejsou zcela dostatečné faktory pro úspěšný rozvoj (Florida 2005) a poukázal, že k vysoké technologické úrovni resp. inovativnosti měst je zapotřebí tzv. kreativní třídy obyvatel, mezi které zařadil nejrůznější lidi od vysokoškolských profesorů, výzkumníků, umělců, podnikatelských elit až po designéry a architekty. Podle názoru Floridy města potřebují kreativní třídu lákat a motivovat ji, aby v nich pobývala, především poskytováním vhodného a podnětného prostředí. Florida vše konkretizoval ve svém konceptu 3T (technologie, talent a tolerance), jenž navrhnul měřit pomocí specifických indexů. Kreativní města, která lákají „kreativní třídu“, jsou podle Floridy tolerantní. Právě tato tolerance je v jeho konceptu zajímavá, Florida ji stanovuje na základě tzv. „gay indexu“ a „bohémského indexu“. Zvláštní „korelací“ „koncentrace gayů ve vybraných městech“ s „rozvinutostí hi-tech sektoru měst“ pak Florida dokázal, že města přátelská ke „gayům“ (s jejich vyšším zastoupením) jsou tolerantnější, a proto lákavější pro kreativní třídu obyvatel, kterým tato tolerance imponuje (Florida 2002). Podobné závěry o významu postojů k homosexualitě podporují i výsledky ze světové studie proměny společenských hodnot (Inglehart, Welzen 2005). „Homosexualita do určité míry představuje poslední hranici rozmanitosti v naší společnosti, a proto místa, která vítají gay komunitu, vítají všechny druhy lidí“ (Florida 2002, s. 256). Tato věta jistě i nadále rozšířila zájem o studium souvislostí „homosexuality“ a měst. Značný zájem lze potvrdit množením mnoha „výzkumných zpráv“ zaměřených na zhodnocení kreativního kapitálu řady světových měst. Florida se samozřejmě nevyhnul kritice, autoři mu vyčítají především vágnost použité metodologie (Markusen 2005, Glaeser 2005), např. při stanovování „gay indexu“. Floridova práce také do určité míry stereotypovala „homosexuály“ jako „ukazatele kreativity“ (Bell, Binnie 2004; Knox, Pinch 2006, s. 239). Rostoucí dostupnost statistických dat o ne-heterosexuálech ale rovněž poukázala na skutečně signifikantní vazby mezi inklusivitou ne-heterosexuality a regionální ekonomickou, technologickou i lidskou výkonností měst (Florida, Mellander 2010).

Mnohá „západní města“ dokázala využít touhy ne-heterosexuálů po viditelnosti, veřejném životu a získání rovnoprávnosti k tomu, aby aktivně vytvářela nové zdroje příjmů a oživila své ekonomiky. Současné evropské „gay prostory“ je možné definovat především jako komerční prostory volnočasových aktivit zacílené na „gaye“ či obecně na „gay kulturu“, kterou komodifikují, konstruují a poskytují jako kosmopolitní podívanou.

Města ve státech střední a východní Evropy svůj vývoj mají poněkud odlišný a tyto skutečnosti byly již diskutovány jinde (Musil 2005; Sýkora 1999, 2001). V současnosti lze ale i ve většině středoevropských metropolí jako Praha, Budapešť či Bratislava zaznamenat podobné změny a procesy připomínající ty, které se odehrály na „západě“. Tyto změny je ale potřeba studovat v místních kontextech a konfrontovat je s předchozím „západem produkovaným věděním“ kriticky. Pokud pouze slepě aplikujeme tuto „cizí“ perspektivu, v lepším případě budeme hledat odpovědi na špatné otázky a v horším případě se budeme snažit nalézat procesy tam, kde se neodehrávají, a oddalovat tak odhalení a případnou intervenci procesů, které jsou skutečně podstatné, ačkoli možná skryté. Praha si v tomto ohledu žádá mimořádnou pozornost. Praha je celosvětově proslavena jako město gay sexu a gay pornografie, ve kterém pučí prostituce heterosexuálních mužů, kteří si nechávají platit za pohlavní styk s „gay turisty“ (Hall 2007; Bar-Johnston, Weiss 2014). Zároveň v Praze proběhly již tři ročníky Prague Pride, průvodu a festivalu ne-heterosexuálních lidí a jejich příznivců. Tyto události proběhly ve specifických místech, ve kterých došlo ke specifickým politicko-prostorovým střetům a dynamikám, jejichž význam má dalekosáhlé důsledky. V zahraničí se geografie podobným důsledkům intenzivně věnuje (Johnston 2005), u nás si tyto události také zasluhují pozornost geografů a geografek, protože se nejedná o identické události, kterým bychom rozuměli. V Praze by se pak geografie sexualit mohla rovněž zabývat geografií zdraví, protože bohužel dochází k velkému nárůstu HIV pozitivních obyvatel, především pak mezi „homosexuály“. Praha má rovněž poměrně extenzivní nabídku nejrůznějších gay komerčních podniků, které reagují na vysokou poptávku ze strany českých, ale i zahraničních ne-heterosexuálů. Jak jsem již diskutoval, Praha rovněž začíná pociťovat význam „gay cestovního ruchu“, „podpultově“ již ve svých turistických infocentrech několik let nabízí „oficiální gay průvodce“, ty jsou pak i stažitelné na jejich webových stránkách. Kritická geografická analýza těchto procesů a jejich souvislostí s možnou tržní manipulací a nástupem „růžové koruny“ by tak měly být diskutovány.

Závěrem

Urbánní geografie sexualit si během svého vývoje prošla mnoha momenty, v tomto článku jsem mohl představit jen vybraný soubor perspektiv studujících městský prostor, pokusil jsem se ale i nastínit některá terminologická a konceptuální specifika, která s nimi souvisejí. Vyčerpávající přehled v jednom článku poskytnout nelze, vybraná témata ale snad povedou k plodné diskusi a přispějí k zájmu o tuto problematiku v české geografii.

Odkazuji proto na některé další přehledové práce, které tento výběr rozšíří (Binnie 1997; Brown, Knopp 2003; Brown 2013). Zároveň existuje obrovská škála dalších směrů geografií sexualit, jež se zabývají jinými kontexty. Roste význam prací zaměřených na otázky širší měřítkové úrovně například globálního „gayství“ (Johnston, Longhurst 2009) či sexuálního občanství a státu (Bell, Valentine 1995; Binnie 1997; Browne, Lim, Brown 2007). Rovněž již od 90. let roste zájem o výzkum sexuality v kontextu prostoru venkova (Bell, Valentine 1995). V geografiích sexualit rovněž existuje silný proud zaměřený na obecné vztahy mezi prostorem a identitami (Valentine 2007, Brown 2012). Zprvu se tato oblast sice zabývala prakticky výlučně sexualitou, postupně ale v rámci pochopení významu intersekcionální analýzy, došlo k zahrnutí dalších os diference (genderu, rasy, společenské třídy, věku atd.). Tento vývoj přispěl k rozvoji všeobecného geografického chápání komplexních procesů, které strukturují naše každodenní prostorové životy.

V „západních zemích“ je již zjevné, že studium sexualit v geografii a příbuzných sociálních vědách není jen okrajovou záležitostí, ale jedná se o rychle se rozvíjející oblast studia související s obecným uznáním faktu, že lidské (humánní či sociální) geografie jsou ovlivňovány mnoha ekonomickými, politickými, sociálními a kulturními strukturami, z nichž mohu jmenovat například kapitalismus, patriarchát, rasismus, sexismus, heteronormativitu, ableismus, ageismus a další normativní struktury. Tyto struktury jsou však samozřejmě s lidskými zkušenostmi dialekticky propojeny, bez jejich lidské institucionalizace, (re)konstrukce či (re)produkce by neexistovaly. Je potřeba pochopit, že je nelze studovat jen omezenými strukturálními přístupy, ale je potřeba užívat a rozvíjet ty, které jsou citlivé k diferenci, k existenci moci a k procesům, k jejichž porozumění musíme opouštět zažité rámce. Takový přístup nabízí geografii například „queer“ teorie a další „post-přístupy“, které ji obohacují, ale zároveň zpětně geografie figuruje jako významný korektiv, jež omezuje tlak těchto „post-přístupů“ v sociální teorii, které často zanedbávají širší politicko-ekonomické vlivy, jež nepochybně hrají značnou úlohu v produkci nejen sexualizovaného prostoru (Binnie, Valentine 1999). Metodologický, epistemologický i ontologický přínos „queer“ teorie a geografií sexualit není tedy jen okrajovou záležitostí a může obohatit celou naší geografii. Geografie sexualit svým zaměřením a propojeností s dalšími sociálně-vědními obory představují přínos pro kulturní a sociální geografii jako celek, kdy svou erudicí v „post-přístupech“ problematizují např. dualistické myšlení. Geografie sexualit rozpracovávají kritické sociální teorie, studují prostor jako sociální konstrukci, studují prostorové společenské struktury, moc, vědění, subjektivity, identity aj. nejen na úrovni teoretické, ale i praktické. Díky diskutovaným studiím došlo k pokroku v geografickém chápání „lesbických“, „gay“, „bisexuálních“, „heterosexuálních“ aj. životů, i k jistému posunu v samotné povaze dříve výlučně heteronormativního vědění (Binnie 1997). Geografická perspektiva znalá postmoderních, post-strukturalistických, ale rovněž i mnohých strukturalistických přístupů přináší velmi plodný vhled do problematiky lidských sexualit, které ve své komplexitě diskursivně reflektují, že vše, co je sociální, je prostorové, a proto i geografické.

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Summary

URBAN SPATIALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF (HOMO/HETERO)SEXUALITY: INTORODUCTION TO A THEORETICAL DEBATE IN GEOGRAPHIES OF SEXUALITIES

Within this article, my main purpose is to introduce urban geographies of sexualities to the Czech academic geography. Significance and importance of sexualities as a geographical issue is yet to be recognized in Czechia. For this reason, I begin by presenting evidence which suggests that sexualities are already considered to be an important geographical subject in most Anglophone countries and have been so for over 20 years. I focus on elucidating sexualities as being either social relations, axis of difference, social identities or categories not differing much in nature from those of gender, race and social class.

By utilizing poststructuralist, postmodern, feminist and queer theoretical perspectives, I point out to the socially constructed nature of sexual identities (and behavior) as subjects to

be studied in geography without the use of essentialist methods for defining sexual orientation. I present examples of diversity and spatiality of sexualities in order to identify them as disparately and socially constructed over time and across space. I simultaneously highlight the importance of discourse and its role in the social construction of sexualities. By revealing heterosexuality(ies) as naturalized and mostly invisible sexual identity(ies), I present the concept of heteronormativity as a primary reason for the existence of diverse modes of non-heterosexual spatiality, as identified by geographies of sexualities.

Subsequently, I narrow my focus to the spatiality of non-heterosexuality in urban spaces and present a review of selected works which I considered key to the shaping of urban geographies of sexualities. First, I explain why cities have become a trope for 'homosexuals' by briefly discussing concepts of anonymity, security and social control. As a second point, I survey the literature connected with the evolution of 'gay ghettoes' in American cities extending from the Chicago school theses on liminal spaces to works heavily influenced by the political economies 1980s, which mainly focused on urban renewal, gentrification and political organizations of 'gay people'. Thirdly, I describe the changing discourses of 'gay ghettoes' into 'gay villages' as connected to the epistemologies of 'gay economic power' that commodify and socially construct a 'desirable' gay identity. In an attempt to further explore these processes, I discuss the growing visibility of 'gay spaces and villages' in Europe, where geographers examine the so-called 'pink economy' in new city branding and marketing strategies. Fourthly, I include the work of critical geographers, who challenge former uncritical works, in order to discuss issues associated with city branding, pride marches and/or 'gay villages' as consumable 'cosmopolitan spectacles'. Therefore, I outline cosmopolitanism as an ideology that plays an important role in the production of non-heterosexual spaces and their economical manipulation. Fifthly, I discuss the highly contested concept of the 'creative class' by focusing on the role 'homosexuals' are believed to play in 'measuring' the levels of creativity in cities. Lastly, I point out the level of importance placed on 'non-heterosexuals' in studies of urban space; however, I caution against uncritical conceptualizations, which may further manipulate 'non-heterosexuals' identities'.

Although this paper is focused on a review of Anglo-Saxon literature, its main purpose is to encourage Czech geographies of sexualities. I am confident that geographies which are informed by postmodernism, post-structuralism, and both feminist and queer theories can critically utilize these advances for the creation of much needed spatial knowledge focused not only on (non-hetero)sexualities. Upcoming Czech perspectives will surely contribute to the understanding of diverse spatial sexualities outside of the 'West'. However, it is important to have in mind that urban geographies of sexualities outside of the 'West' have different histories, and are continuously developing in different contexts; therefore any critical approach, including that of geographies of sexualities, must not merely replicate or apply knowledge through the 'optics of the West'. Central European Cities and their geographies of sexualities have undergone somewhat different developments of their sexual spatialities. For this reason, distinct sets of questions should be asked and other answers may or may not be solicited. I end up with postulating only of few these prospective questions: Is Prague becoming a 'gay city' or is it rather arising as a distinct inclusive 'queer capital'? How can we tackle the recent outburst of HIV/AIDS in Prague? What role does spatiality of heteronormativity play in this unfortunate epidemic? Why is there only one or two lesbian bars in Prague, but many gay venues? Is thinking about the prospective development of a gay district in Prague in fact producing this kind of development? Is there an interconnection between recent rise of gay tourism and gay commodification in Prague and heteronormativity? There are many other 'local questions' requiring attention of either Czech or foreign geographers. So who is going to pick up this gauntlet first?

Fig. 1 – Manchester's Gay Village (left), Oxford street in Sydney during the Mardi Gras Festival (right).

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Do redakce došlo 12. 4. 2013; do tisku bylo přijato 20. 3. 2014.

Citační vzor:
PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Prostorovost města v kontextu (homo/hetero)sexuality: úvod do teoretické diskuse geografií sexualit. Geografie, 119, č. 2, s. 179–198.

/**7**/

Queer prostor(y)[1]

MICHAL PITOŇÁK

ÚVOD

Název této kapitoly je na první pohled asi podivný, tento úvodní pocit však není natolik vzdálen jinak zajímavé skutečnosti. Prozatím ozřejmím jen to, že slovo *queer* v názvu kapitoly je odvozeno od tzv. *queer teorie*[2], vlivného a kritického přístupu v rámci postmoderního a poststrukturalistického myšlení. V této kapitole se zaměřím na přiblížení oboru geografie, který se zabývá lidskou rozličností – diferencí, primárně pak tou sexuální. Tento obor je v anglo-americké geografické literatuře etablován již zhruba od 80.–90. let 20. století. Je pochopitelné, že v Česku podobné práce touto dobou ještě nevznikaly, společenský vývoj byl v té době ovlivněn ideologickou doktrínou komunismu, ve které rozmanitost neměla příliš prostoru či byla přímo tabuizována. V 90. letech pak nastala bouřlivá transformace a geografové se zaměřili na studium velkého množství jiných fenoménů. Výzkum

1 Kapitola vznikla v rámci výzkumného projektu GA UK č. 1092214 „Queer geografie: komodifikace, segregace a globalizace sexuálních identit ve městech?“

2 Přístup úzce spjatý s vývojem teoretického myšlení, které se zabývá pozicí marginalizovaných sexualit (nikoliv však výlučně) (Pain 2001: 124).

diference proto do českého geografického diskurzu proniká se zpožděním až v současnosti.

Tato kniha je určitou opožděnou reakcí na svého „předchůdce – Černou knihu“, dovolím si proto konečně „zvednout hozenou rukavici“ a nabídnout v této kapitole svou reakci. Nejdřív se krátce vrátím 20 let zpátky a odcituji pasáž z „Černé knihy“ od Petra Pavlínka:

> [Postmodernismus] *je spíše postparadigmatem … soustřeďuje se na rozdíly, je citlivý k heterogenitě, zvláštnostem a výjimečnostem … může se stát impulzem pro novou regionální geografii. … citlivě vnímá rozdílné lidi. Různá společenská hnutí byla základnou, ze které postmodernismus vychází (feminismus, ekologické hnutí, hnutí rozvojových zemí atd.). Postmoderní postoj je též charakteristický citlivějším vnímáním prostoru. Postmoderní geografie je pouze na začátku svého vývoje. Není to další přístup ke geografickému výzkumu. Je to postoj, který je citlivý k místům, k jejich geografii. Bude ještě zajímavé sledovat rozvoj geografie ve „věku“ postmodernismu.* (Pavlínek 1993: 22)

A tento vývoj je zajisté zajímavý a pro geografii velmi prospěšný, je-li mu věnována náležitá pozornost. Protože jsem přesvědčen, že postmoderní a poststrukturalistické přístupy patří v současnosti mezi jedny z nejméně pochopených oblastí geografického myšlení, budu napříč celou kapitolou klást důraz na alespoň částečnou nápravu této situace. Těžiště geografie, kterou zde diskutuji, čerpá z *feminismu, postmodernismu a poststrukturalismu*. Všechny tyto „postsměry“ jsou velmi různorodé, panují mezi nimi a uvnitř nich značná napětí, lze je ale sjednotit odmítáním dominantních konstelací objektivity a pravdy, které byly popsány jako *pozitivismus* (Aitchinson 1999: 30). Tyto volně sdružené „postpozitivistické“ přístupy mají tendenci být chápány zjednodušeně, a proto se u nich krátce pozastavím. Mnohdy jsou uvažovány za „nové“ přístupy či přicházející po těch, jež nemají prefix „post“, avšak aspekty „post“ myšlení můžeme registrovat již v myšlení Friedricha Nietzscheho, které je starší než „zakladatelů“ *strukturalismu* Ferdinanda de Saussure či Claude Lévi-Strausse. Časové chápání „post“ tedy není vhodné, post(modernismus) raději uvažujme slovy Jean-Francois Lyotarda jako „podezřívavost k velkým vyprávěním“ (tzv. *metanarativům*[3]) (Lyotard 1993: 97) a nejrůznějším sebevědomým pravdám, které se „modernistická věda“ rozhodla slepě následovat, ve víře v kumulativní pokrok vědění (technologií, společnosti apod.). Obdobně Bauman[4] hovoří jen o pozdní fázi modernity, kdy „moderní moloch“, vyslaný za „pravdou“ již nemůže být zastaven, nedokáže ale ani již „skrývat pod

3 Doktríny typu marxistického historického materialismu, popř. vědeckého racionalismu, humanismu, teorie strukturace či realismu.

4 Podobně např. David Harvey – The condition of postmodernity (1989).

koberec“ nehodící se skutečnosti, které byly dlouhou dobu přehlížené (Daněk 2008). Domnívám se, že není pragmatické rozlišovat mezi postmodernismem a poststrukturalismem, protože i jejich představitelé bývají řazeni do obou těchto přístupů. Hlavním přínosem poststrukturalismu je možná paradoxně problematizování „základní struktury“, na které staví strukturalismus, tedy *jazyka*, kterou poststrukturalisté nevnímají stabilně, ale spíš plasticky, v procesu ustavování, dekonstruktivisticky[5]. Realita, která je lidem zcela nepřístupná[6], zahalená neproniknutelným „závojem symbolické struktury jazyka“ je v poststrukturalismu chápána navíc dekonstruktivisticky, neukončeně, vždy v procesu „ustavování“. V poststrukturalismu ovlivněném myšlením Michela Foucaulta je zdůrazněna role moci a její vazba na vědění (power-knowledge). Neexistuje pak „normální“, „zřejmé“ či „přirozené“, důraz je kladen na otázky typu: Pro koho? Kým/čím je tak činěno? Kdy tomu tak je a kdy není (nebylo)? Metody jako diskurzivní analýza, dekonstrukce a další kvalitativní, ale i kvantitativní metody pak propojují teoreticky ukotvené výzkumy s empirickými (Daněk 2008). „Post-přístupy“ tedy kriticky (re)konceptualizují vztah člověka ke struktuře (diskuse aktér–struktura), člověka jako subjektu (zde záměrně jednající subjekt je pouhou fikcí) a v neposlední řadě člověka jako univerzální bytosti (je nekonečně diferencován jako heterogenní na základě genderu, rasy, sexuality, pohlaví, společenské třídy aj.) (Valentine 2002: 236).

> *V postmoderních přístupech se stírají hranice mezi vědou, uměním, společností, ekonomikou, mýtem i realitou, hranice tak důležité pro modernitu. Postmodernismus klade důraz na kontext, konkrétní situace a konfigurace sociálních procesů, lidských aktivit a moci v daných časech a prostorech.* (Daněk 2008: 35)

> [Diskurz je] *institucionalizovaný způsob myšlení, vymezující, co může být k danému tématu řečeno (a kým) …* [Diskurz je] *systém myšlení, tvořený myšlenkami, postoji, jednáním, domněnkami a postupy, které systematicky vytvářejí subjekty a světy, o kterých vypovídají.* (Daněk 2008: 34 podle Foucault 2002).

Stále častější je rovněž důraz na interdisciplinární charakter bádání, kdy v současném stále efektivněji propojeném světě disciplinární hranice svými „pohraničními pásmy“ vytvářejí více a více interdisciplinárního prostoru. Je-li tato spolupráce konstruktivní a rigorózní, pak věřím, že přispívá k porozumění fenoménům, které dřívější rigidnější disciplíny uchopovaly jen s těžkostmi. Do geografie „post-přístupy“ vstupují především v rámci tzv. *kulturního obratu*,

5 Dekonstrukce je teoretický přístup, který uvažuje jazyk se svými symbolickými významy znaků nestále, vždy „v odkladu“, zjednodušeně tedy význam všeho není pevný, ale nestabilní a v tomto smyslu autor textu již není zdrojem jeho významu (Salih 2002: 21).

6 To znemožňuje pozitivismus hledající pozitivní důkazy v realitě a ověřování fakt.

který kladl důraz na kulturu (především na konstrukci, vyjednávání či zpochybňování významů), diskurzivní konstrukci společenského života, diferenci, reprezentaci, politiky identit aj. vazby lidských aktivit a kultury (Gregory a kol. 2009: 134; Aitken, Valentine 2006: 339). Nemateriální vazby a vlivy mezi kulturou a lidskou společností přestaly být v geografii ignorovány. Příbuzné vědy naopak začaly studovat prostorová témata, proto společně ke *kulturnímu obratu* v geografii můžeme uvažovat i interdisciplinární *prostorový obrat* v sociálních vědách[7].

Do geografického myšlení tak pronikal například zájem o studium „života diferencovaného dle rozmanitosti sexuality". Již v 90. letech byl tento zájem tak nebývalý, že se hovořilo o určité sexuální mánii ve společenských vědách (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007; Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston 2008: 235). V geografii se sexualitou nejvíce zabývají oblasti zařaditelné do širší sociální a kulturní geografie, dále pak urbánní, politické, ekonomické geografie, ale i další (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007: 5). Vývoj geografií, které studují sexuality, je velmi rozmanitý a nelze ho postihnout v chronologické formě. Sexualita je v geografii studována mnoha paralelními přístupy, které užívají nejrůznější teoretické perspektivy. Některé přístupy si ve složitě propletených sítích výzkumníků vyměňovaly myšlenky intenzivněji, více či méně interdisciplinárně. Většina těchto oblastí se stále dramaticky rozvíjí a v odborné literatuře nepanuje konsenzus v jejich klasifikaci, proto zde představím vlastní třídění. Mnohé autory nelze „zaškatulkovat" pouze do jednoho podoboru, naopak často přispívají svými pracemi do vývoje různých „myšlenkových škol", v rámci kterých se sami v čase rovněž pohybují. Rozdělení následujících podkapitol uvažuji především na základě teoretické sofistikovanosti, proto nejdříve přiblížím přístupy, které jsou nejstarší a sexualitu v prostoru pouze popisují, nijak ji neproblematizují. Dále vyčlením rané nekritické přístupy, které se zaměřují na prostorové životy *ne-heterosexuálů*[8], v této souvislosti objasním vliv a podněty přejaté z *feministických geografií*[9], které v geografii vytvořily podmínky pro vznik samotných *geografií sexualit* a *queer geografií*, které čerpají nejen z postmoderní a poststrukturalistické teorie a dalších kritických přístupů, rovněž je i významně obohacují.

7 Blíže kapitola 1 Úvod obratem.

8 Termín ne-heterosexuálové užívám jako obecného označení pro všechny lidi, kteří se neidentifikují jako heterosexuálové. Označení gay, lesba, bisexuál, homosexuál, LGBT aj. neužívám v tomto smyslu, protože jsou „zatížené" diskurzivními konotacemi, které mají geograficky omezený, časový i kontextuální význam (viz dále). S použitím uvozovek je užívám k diskusi prací.

9 Blíže kapitola 6 Feministické prostory.

Obr. 1 Budova legendárního gay baru Stonewall Inn v New Yorku. Významné komunitní centrum místní gay vesnice a epicentrum nepokojů spojených s povstáním gayů a leseb v USA v roce 1969.

Zdroj: Michal Pitoňák. (Pokud není uvedeno jinak, fotografie, které jsou součástí autorských textů, pocházejí ze soukromých archivů autorů.)

GEOGRAFIE (MĚSTSKÉHO) „GAY GHETTA" A „GAY VESNICE"

Nejstarší práce, které zmiňují problematiku sexuality v prostorovém kontextu, lze identifikovat už v *Chicagské škole* urbánní sociologie 20. let 20. století. Práce se dotýkaly problematiky identifikace zanedbaných městských oblastí, oblastí výskytu „sexuálních deviantů", prostituce, kriminality či jiných soudobých „problémů". V tehdejším diskurzu se hovořilo o studiu „sociální patologie". Studie se tak snažily zviditelňovat neviditelné fenomény (Miller 2009: 303), jakými byla například homosexuální prostituce. Významná byla studie *etnických ghett* Louise Wirtha (1928), která vytvořila metodologický základ pro budoucí výzkumy *prostorových organizací sexualit*. Navzdory poměrně liberální společenské atmosféře Ameriky 20. let to byla až uvolněná 60. a 70. léta, ve kterých se tematika homosexuality poprvé seriózněji objevila v akademických kruzích (bez přehnané patologizace)[10]. Ústřední roli ve všech tehdejších

10 Sílící feministické hnutí a další sociální změny v tehdejších společnostech vedly k uvolnění společenské atmosféry (Hippies atd.) a studiu např. gay ghett (politické prostředí USA).

Obr. 2 Rezidenční a komerční oblasti ve čtvrti Castro, poblíž centra San Franciska jsou názorným příkladem dnešní „gay vesnice“, avšak i původního „gay ghetta“.

Zdroj: Miroslav Fess.

studiích hrálo městské prostředí. Důvodů pro tuto urbánní orientaci bylo více, obecně panuje konsenzus, že nejdůležitějšími faktory jsou *anonymita* měst, vyšší sociální *diverzita* a z toho plynoucí vyšší *tolerance* vůči jinakosti a odlišnosti (Hubbard 2006). Ve městech se tak z těchto důvodů rozvinuly nejrůznější avantgardní či bohémské oblasti a vznikaly zde i tzv. *marginální (liminální) zóny* nebo přímo „vykřičené oblasti“ tzv. „red light distrikty“ (Chauncey 1994). Města svou podstatou koncentrují populaci, včetně té menšinové, v uvolněnějších 60. a 70. letech (USA) v nich mohly vznikat první komerční prostory, které odpovídaly na rostoucí poptávku vytvářenou homosexuály. Aby nebyly nové gay či lesbické podniky ztrátové, je zapotřebí relativně velké populace (nad 50 tis. obyvatel), aby existovala dostatečně velká základna potenciálních zákazníků[11] (Miller 2009: 303). V současnosti jsou takové podniky stále běžnějšími prvky ve vnitřních prostorech středních a větších měst Severní Ameriky, Evropy, Austrálie i největších měst Jižní Ameriky a Asie (Miller 2009: 302). První takové prostory ale vznikaly v USA, je proto logické, že se tam geografie zkoumající (homo)sexualitu vyvinuly nejdříve. První, kdo zkoumal *prostorové koncentrace homosexuálů* v amerických městech, byl „prostorový

11 Tyto „deterministické“ úvahy vycházejí z období, ve kterém nebyly příliš problematizovány, nebyl uvažován dopad společenské stigmatizace, jako předpokladu pro institucionální (komerční) segregaci.

sociolog“ Martine Levine, který na svůj výzkum aplikoval Wirthova kritéria *etnického ghetta*. Zabýval se identifikací *gay ghett* v prostoru největších měst USA. Ve své práci identifikoval tři zcela vyvinutá *gay ghetta* v New Yorku (viz obrázek 1), San Francisku a Los Angeles (Levine 1979).

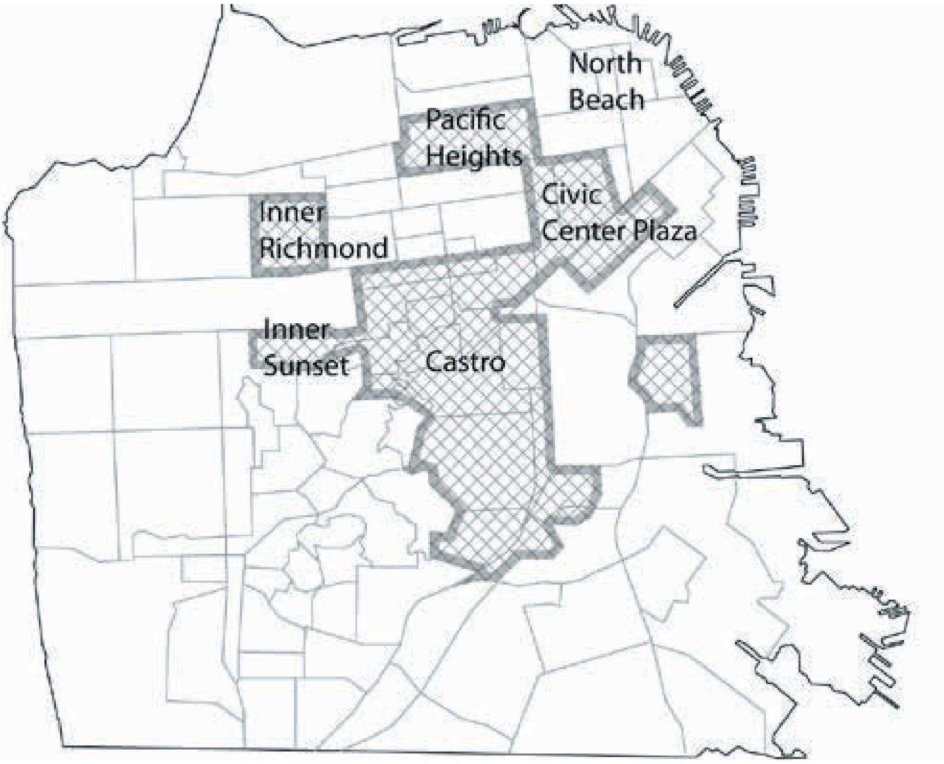
Práce probudila zájem o studium *segregace gayů* a formulovala fundamentální metodologické problémy související s měřením *rezidenční koncentrace gayů*. Lesby v této době studovány nebyly, jejich potenciální rezidenční koncentrace neprojevovaly dostatečnou míru „materiality“, aby jim v této době byla věnována pozornost. Výjimkou byla Ettorre (1978), která se věnovala dočasnému lesbicko-feministickému squatterskému *ghettu* v Londýnské oblasti Lambeth (ghetto zde existovalo šest let). Ettore se zajímala především o násilí a diskriminaci, k němuž ve studované oblasti mezi lesbami a místními gangy docházelo, nicméně prostorovostí *ghetta* se podrobněji nezabývala. To ovšem změnila práce významného amerického sociologa Manuela Castellse – *The City and the grassroots* (1983), který se gay a lesbickým prostorem zabýval podrobněji v San Franciscu. Castells, především ve zdejší čtvrti Castro, studoval důsledky rezidenční a komerční koncentrace gayů a jejich podniků na rozvoj města (viz obrázek 2). Za jeho významné zjištění se považuje odhalení spojitosti mezi gayi a *gentrifikací* (viz heslo níže), Castells odhalil, že gayové figurují jako jedni z prvních *urbánních pionýrů*, ochotných obývat zanedbané oblasti (Castells 1983: 166; Brown, Knopp 2003: 317). Castells zaznamenal, že gayové skupovali nemovitosti v zanedbaných oblastech a investovali své finanční prostředky do jejich rekonstrukce. Svou *gentrifikací* tak přispěli k nastartování procesů *urbánní regenerace*. Castellse rovněž zaujala prostorově-politická organizovanost gayů, která v inkriminované oblasti vedla k řadě legislativních změn zaměřených na omezení všeobecného společenského útlaku, který byl pro gaye primárním faktorem pro jejich prostorovou koncentraci v *ghettu*.

GAYOVÉ A GENTRIFIKACE

Gayové bývají již tradičně považováni za *urbánní pionýry*, schopné investovat do relativně zanedbaných čtvrtí a nastartovat v nich proces regenerace v rámci gentrifikace. Hlavní faktory, které pojí gaye a gentrifikaci popisuje např. (Miller 2009: 306):

1) Relativně vyšší příjmy gayů (časté profesionální pozice v sektoru služeb, menší rodinné finanční závazky – vyplývající z obtíží tvořit rodiny – větší investiční potenciál). Tzv. fenomén SINK/DINK (single/dual income no kinds).
2) Preference gayů bydlet ve vnitřních městech (anonymita, diverzita, tolerance) namísto v suburbánních oblastech. Nezanedbatelný je také aspekt blízkosti nočního života.

Obr. 3 Oblasti San Francisca s významnými rezidenčními koncentracemi „gayů“, ústřední pozici má čtvrť Castro.



Zdroj: Lukáš Kaufman

3) Vyšší pravděpodobnost, že marginalizovaní lidé budou tvořit komunity či se koncentrovat v marginalizovaných zónách (zanedbaných částech) měst.

Práce byla mnohými autory kritizována pro svůj značně zjednodušující a stereotypující pohled na gaye, kterým v podstatě přisuzoval gayům určitou rasu (bílou), věk (mládí), společenskou třídu (vyšší), atd. a ostatní ne-heterosexuály zanedbával (Adler, Brenner 1992). Rovněž byl značně nepozorný k lesbám, které esencialisticky stereotypoval jako ne-teritoriální a „nevytvářející hmotné sociální svazky“ (Castells 1983: 140). Castellsova práce ale probudila zájem odborné veřejnosti studovat spojitosti mezi sexualitou a městským prostorem. Na Castellse navázali Lauria a Knopp (1985), kteří již podrobněji studovali mocenské prostorové vztahy (politickou organizovanost, aj.) gayů. Porozuměli tomu, že politická organizovanost související s rezidenční koncentrací byla (a je) jedním z faktorů specifické prostorové organizovanosti resp. koncentrace homosexuálního obyvatelstva ve velkých městech USA a částečně i v Austrálii (Pain 2001: 138). Jejich výzkum odhalil širší ekonomické vztahy a politické důsledky koncentrace homosexuálů v prostoru (Knopp 1987).

Všechny diskutované práce jen velmi zřídka využívaly teorie, studované situace vysvětlovaly jen omezeně a omezovaly se především na marxismus. Zároveň se stále neskrývaně zaměřovaly výlučně na gaye resp. homosexuální muže. Lesbám nebyla věnována pozornost, především z důvodu jejich stereotypování jako ekonomicky nevýkonných „žen". Tematicky příbuzné studie zaměřené na lesby pocházejí až z pozdější teoreticky a metodologicky vyspělejší doby (Johnston, Valentine 1995). Problematiku formování *lesbických komunit* pak osvětluje v podstatě až práce Rothenberg (1995) zaměřená na rezidenční oblast Park Slope v New Yorském Brooklynu. Podmore (2001) dále ve své práci upozornila, že lesby jednoduše využívají jiné prostředky (než gayové) k tomu, aby se zviditelňovaly. Dokladem je rovněž práce Johnston a Valentine (1995), které v kontextu britského maloměsta prokázaly, že lesby vytvářejí *lesbické prostory* (nejrůznějších typů od sousedství až po dočasné bary). „Lesbické geografie" proto rozšířily zájem geografů krom stávajícího prostoru vnitřních měst o prostory domova, pracovišť a ulice[12]. Začala být rovněž diskutována i časová dimenze využívání míst. Zájem o lesbické geografie však nikdy nedosáhl takových rozměrů, jakých dosáhly studie zaměřené na prostorovou organizaci gayů (především z důvodů jejich komerční orientace).

Studium rezidenčních *gay ghett* bylo možné především v USA, protože v Evropě do 80. let panovaly odlišné sociopolitické a kulturní podmínky a díky tomu prostorovost *ne-heterosexuality* i ve velkých městech (např. Londýn, Paříž) zůstávala stále pod materiálním prahem citlivosti soudobých studií. *Evropská ne-heterosexualita* byla spíše „neviditelná", organizována v tajných prostorech, koncentrovaných center několika konkrétních měst. Jednalo se například o soukromé byty, ale také parky, veřejné záchodky, lázně aj. prostory, kterým se v angličtině říká *cruising spoty* a v češtině *holandy* (Fanel 2000). O těchto oblastech pak věděli jen zasvěcení *ne-heterosexuálové*, již museli vyvinout taktiky, které jim umožnily bezpečný pohyb po městě a vytváření „neviditelných" *ne-heterosexuálních prostorů* v jeho centru. Podobná situace panovala i v Praze, i zde homosexuálové nacházeli útočiště již v období za první republiky (Fanel 2000), společensko-politické podmínky však až donedávna neumožnily žádné podrobnější studium těchto skutečností.

K vytváření fyzických prostorů a skupování pozemků v Evropě až na výjimky (náznaky v Londýně) nedocházelo. Evropská společnost se od konce 70. let pomalu stávala liberálnější, docházelo postupně k dekriminalizaci homosexuality a k přijetí antidiskriminačních legislativ, které zajistily bezpečnější a viditelnější shromažďování *ne-heterosexuálů*. Tato liberalizace ale nebyla v Evropě plošná a nedocházelo k ní ve všech státech stejnou rychlostí, podrobněji Waaldijk (2000), a proto je Evropa i v současnosti regionálně velmi rozmanitá z hlediska *prostorovosti ne-heterosexuality* (porovnejte situaci na Balkáně či

12 Blíže kapitola 8 Semiveřejné prostory a 9 Prostory domova.

v Rusku se situací ve skandinávských zemích či Španělsku). Ke změně postojů institucí v Evropě rovněž jistě přispěly i zmíněné práce amerických autorů, které stereotypovaly gaye z ekonomického hlediska městských ekonomik (gentrifikace, komerční aktivita gayů). K viditelnému zformování *ne-heterosexuálních koncentrací* došlo v Evropě tedy až v průběhu 90. let a charakter těchto koncentrací byl spíše komerční než rezidenční. Tyto koncentrace již nebyly označovány pejorativně jako *gay ghetta*, ale prosadil se pro ně nový termín *gay vesnice* (gay village). Příkladem těchto čtvrtí jsou např. čtvrť Le Marais v Paříži (Sibalis 2004) či Soho v Londýně (Binnie 1995). V Evropě byla (homo) sexualita ve městech studována nejdříve v britské geografii, kde se geografové zaměřili na vliv přítomnosti gay a lesbických prostorů uvnitř navzájem si konkurujících postindustriálních metropolí.

Tyto především ekonomicky či politicky motivované práce se zaměřovaly na ekonomický kapitál gayů (v malé míře i leseb), jeho využití v politikách propagace měst v podobě marketingu *gay vesnic*, ale i na obecné dopady přítomnosti *ne-heterosexuality* na městské ekonomiky. Autoři těchto prací si však již byli vědomi negativního stereotypování gayů jako bohatých, mladých, bílých, a v neposlední řadě kultivovaných lidí, které dokonce vedlo k vytvoření přezdívky *růžová libra* (pink pound). Autoři inspirováni kulturními vlivy v rámci *kulturního obratu* v sociálních vědách a především pak sílící pozicí postmoderních a poststrukturalistických přístupů tak konečně kritizovali dosavadní zjednodušené (ekonomické, marxistické) interpretace a začali být citlivější k diferenci. Příkladem může být práce Jona Binnieho, britského geografa, který studoval rozvoj *gay prostorů* v kontextu místních samospráv a podnikatelských sil, jež v nové atmosféře konce století spolupracovaly se svými *gay komunitami* ve vytváření městských prostorů orientovaných na gaye (Binnie 1995). Zaměřil se na rozvoj souvisejících politik měst v kontextu ekonomické recese raných 90. let. Studoval londýnskou Old Compton Street ve čtvrti Soho a nizozemský Amsterdam, kde se zaměřil na roli místní vlády (hájící gay práva) v propagaci města jako mezinárodní *gay metropole*. Binnie tyto procesy označil za revitalizační strategie měst využívající „spojenectví mezi queer politikami a růžovým kapitálem". Hlavním zájmem měst bylo přilákat investice, migranty a turisty (jak národní, tak mezinárodní) do těchto konkurujících si postindustriálních měst (Binnie 1995). Binnie spolu s dalšími autory (Rushbrook 2002: 194) kriticky poukázal na možnou *kapitalistickou manipulaci* s gayi v rámci procesu *komodifikace gayů*, ve které je „gay konzumní kultura" (městy a médii) aktivně produkována. Quilley (1997) podobně na příkladu manchesterské Canal Street, (1997) upozornil na „touhu města" přilákat (gay a lesbické) turisty pod záminkou kosmopolitní rozmanitosti.

Gay prostory v Evropě je možné tak spíše definovat jako prostory volnočasových aktivit a jako prostory koncentrace komerčních podniků. Existuje jen velmi málo míst se signifikantně vyššími rezidenčními koncentracemi gay a lesbických obyvatel (Pain 2001: 138). Pravděpodobně nejlepším příkladem takové signifikantně rezidenčně koncertované oblasti je v současnosti asi West Hollywood city v Los Angeles. Zájem o geografický výzkum související problematiky tak pochopitelně roste, byl rozpoznán komerční potenciál („růžová libra/ekonomika“) a ten jednoznačně souvisí s produkcí sexualizovaného konzumního prostoru a např. oblastí gay a lesbického turismu (Johnston 2001; Elder, Knopp, Nast 2003).

Doposud diskutovaný pokrok lze shrnout jako změnu chápání přítomnosti gay (a lesbických) prostorů ve městech z negativní (gay ghetta) na pozitivní (výnosné gay vesnice). Prací zabývajících se využitím ekonomického potenciálu gayů je značné množství. Tyto práce se povětšinou nezaměřují na samotné gaye a lesby, ale spíše na jejich vliv na ekonomiku měst či celých regionů, často jim chybí kritická perspektiva, dále je zde již nediskutuji.

GAY A LESBICKÉ GEOGRAFIE

Gay a lesbické geografie se začaly objevovat v 70. a 80. letech 20. století a byly typicky postaveny na nejrůznějších strukturalistických přístupech (urbánní politická ekonomie, marxismus, později prvotní feministické analýzy). Většinou do této „kategorie“ prací řadíme časné analýzy sexuálních vztahů, pohlaví, genderu popř. rodin, které se vyznačovaly spíše esencialistickým přístupem a nikterak nezpochybňovaly jejich podmíněnost / „přirozenost“ (Weightman 1981; McNee 1984; Lauria, Knopp 1985). Od předchozích geografií se tak spíše než teoreticky odlišovaly svým úhlem pohledu, zaměřeného na porozumění složitých prostorových životů sexuálních minorit. Na rozdíl od prací studujících ekonomické provázání gayů s *gentrifikací* se *gay a lesbické geografie* zaměřovaly na nerovné *mocenské vztahy* v prostoru a na problematiku *sexuálních identit*, které umožňovaly existovat menšinovým skupinám jen v určitých, z počátku tajných prostorech, jejichž specifika studovaly. Zkoumaly se vlastnosti a rozmístění komerčních podniků (např. gay barů / klubů), soukromých prostorů (domovy, setkávací místa) či veřejných prostorů jako toalet a parků, které byly „známé“ díky konkrétním *ne-heterosexuálním* významům, které získaly skrze pověry, osobní kontakty či sociální sítě (tzv. „cruising a cottaging“ oblasti) (Miller 2009: 302).

Mezi první nejvýznamnější práce, které se zabývaly primárně homosexualitou v prostoru, patří práce Barbary Weightman (1981), která studovala gay bary a sociální prostory ve spojitosti se společenským útlakem gayů. Větší význam pro rozvoj této geografie měla ale práce Boba McNeeho (1984), který jako první aktivně odporoval *heteronormativním* (viz dále) pravidlům akademického prostředí. Přednášel například v *dragu*[13] či v převleku za hypermaskulinního kovboje, zval na konference *ne-heterosexuály* apod. (Elder, Knopp,

13 Převlečen za ženu.

Nast 2003: 201). Tato doba byla charakteristická tím, že projevy a praktiky stejnopohlavní touhy a jiných forem gender non-konformit (oblékání do dragu, maskulinita ženy, feminita muže), byly považovány odborníky za „choulostivé" (Brown, Knopp 2003: 314). McNee byl první z geografů, který se vědomě postavil soudobé pozitivistické epistemologii, soustřeďoval se na otázky kde, proč a jak mohou gayové a lesby projevovat svou ztělesněnou *ne-heterosexuální odlišnost* (embodied difference). Do této kategorie tak spadají práce zabývající se deskriptivní charakteristickou *gay a lesbických prostorů*. Příkladem je např. studie Nancy Achilles (1998). *Gay a lesbické geografie* spojovalo několik významných nedostatků. Nezpochybňovaly „přirozenost" kategorií sexuálních identit ani *genderu* (Elder, Knopp, Nast 2003: 202) a stále v nich převažovala perspektiva zaměřená na město a „západní kontext". Z dnešního pohledu tyto práce rovněž poněkud nešťastně spíše přispěly ke stereotypním představám ohledně sexuálních identit.

OD ŽEN A GENDERŮ K SEXUALITÁM A QUEER V GEOGRAFII

Podrobnější studium sexuality a prostoru by pravděpodobně nebylo možné bez rozvoje teorií a metodologií *feministických geografií* (Knopp 2007: 48), z tohoto důvodu se pozastavím u některých faktů ohledně jejich přínosu. Feministické hnutí[14], spolu s lidskoprávním a gay osvobozeneckým, nastolily koncem 60. let vhodnou společenskou atmosféru (především v USA)[15], nutnou pro expanzi vědění inspirovaného diferencí pohlaví, genderu, sexuality, rasy, etnicity, aj. V geografii ze strany humanistické geografie a tzv. školy společenské relevance zároveň sílila kritika pozitivistických přístupů a prosazovaly se i novější postpozitivistické přístupy (Blažek, Rochovská 2006: 47). *Feministické geografie*[16] v tomto kontextu reagovaly na nedostatek humanistické geografie, tj. uvažovat lidský subjekt diferencovaně, kritizovaly proto tzv. *univerzalistické pojetí subjektu*, které se snažilo vymanit člověka z komplikovaného světa (reality společenské třídy, rasy, etnicity, genderu, sexuality …), a „chránilo" tak „objektivní výzkumný proces". Dosavadní teoretický a metodologický aparát geografie byl nedostatečný (Dixon, Jones 2006: 43). *Feministické geografie* problematizovaly postavení žen v rámci geografické obce, kritizovaly „tradiční" *maskulinitu* disciplíny a související upřednostňování výzkumu zaměřeného na produktivní aktivity (obecně produkce, zpracování oceli, aj.) před aktivitami

14 Především jeho 2. vlna (60. až 70. léta minulého století).

15 V roce 1969 došlo například k pouličním nepokojům v New Yorku, k tzv. Stonewallskému incidentu, po kterém se LGBT hnutí v USA a v západním světě zviditelnila a získala určitou podporu veřejnosti.

16 Nejedná se o jeden směr, ale o množství přístupů s vlastními teoretickými perspektivami i metodologiemi, podrobněji se jim věnují např. Rochovská a Blažek (Blažek, Rochovská 2006).

reproduktivními (péče o děti, seniory, vzdělávání, aj.). Za počátek *feministických geografií* lze považovat práci Pat Burnett z roku 1973 (podle Aitchinson 1999), práci Alison Hayford z roku 1974 (podle Daněk 2008), či článek Mildred Bermana z roku 1974 (podle Dixon, Jones 2006). V 80. a 90. letech v rámci *kulturního obratu* sílil vliv postmodernismu (Bondi 1991; Massey 1991; Gibson-Graham 1994), který *feministické geografie* výrazně teoreticky sblížil s dalšími společenskými disciplínami (filosofií, sociologií, antropologií, aj.). *Feministické geografie* proto obohatily disciplínu geografie o zkoumání (a) prostorových dimenzí rozdílných životních zkušeností mužů a žen napříč kulturními, ekonomickými, politickými a environmentálními oblastmi; (b) zkoumání komplexních vztahů mezi lidmi z hlediska jejich *genderů* a vztahů hierarchicky popsaných a problematizovaných v rámci struktury patriarchátu; (c) o studium komplikovaných procesů sociálního konstruování *genderu*, ve kterých jsou jedinci „genderováni" jako *maskulinní* či *femininní* (Dixon, Jones 2006: 42).

Před dvaceti lety byly *feministické geografie* považovány za radikální, dnes jsou však již, přinejmenším v anglo-amerických společnostech, integrální součástí hlavního proudu geografie (Pain 2001: 124). Významně přispěly k rozšíření kvalitativních metod a využívání primárních dat (především zásluhou Cary Aitchinson a Lindy McDowell). Ačkoliv *feministické geografie* nejsou homogenním směrem, lze je společně propojit studiem *patriarchátu*[17], struktury operující rozličně napříč různými typy společností. Konfrontace patriarchátu v rámci *feministických geografií* připravily prostor dalším marginalizovaným skupinám (sexuálním, rasovým, etnickým, aj.). Koncepty, které byly (a stále často jsou) považované za „přirozené", byly podrobeny kritice. Neudržitelné bylo již i fyzikální a naturalistické chápání samotného prostoru. Absolutní, materiální a sociální chápání prostoru bylo posunuto směrem k relativnímu a symbolickému (Aitchinson 1999: 34). Prostor začal být studován jako proces či vztah, který je produkován jako *maskulinní* či *femininní*, ve studiích domova a pracovišť byla zároveň pochopena i úzká vazba mezi patriarchálními sociálními vztahy a vztahy heterosexistickými (McDowell, Sharp 1997; Domosh, Seager 2001). Propojení studia sexualit v geografii se spojitostmi *sexuální diference* bylo stále aktuálnější (Rose 1993). *Esencialismus* jako přístup hledající příčiny jevů v jejich podstatách „esencích", musel v rámci široké kritiky ustoupit *sociálnímu konstruktivismu*, který se zajímá „o způsoby, kterými ‚diskurzy' ustanovují rozdílnosti či odlišnosti, typy zkušeností či aspekty významů mezi jednotlivci, skupinami, objekty vytvořenými i přirozenými" (Dixon, Jones 2006: 49). Vznikl tak prostor pro zkoumání *geografií sexualit*, především těch „perzekuovaných", spojených s *ne-heterosexuály* (lesbami, gayi, bisexuály, aj.), jejichž mocenská dynamika vytvářela příhodnější podmínky pro jejich zkoumání (zviditelňovala je).

17 Blíže kapitola 6 Feministické prostory.

Sexuality
Sexualitou je v geografii uvažováno více než jen chování a touha jedinců (Phillips 2004). V rámci queer, poststrukturálních či postmoderních přístupů je sexualita chápána jako: „rozličný soubor sexuálních preferencí a identit, které jsou kulturně a sociálně sestaveny či vykonstruovány skrze diskurzy, prostory a vztahy mezi lidmi“ (Panelli 2004: 114). Sexualita je sociální vztah či identita obdobná vztahům jako společenská třída, gender či rasa. Sexualitu nelze vystihnout „objektivními“ behaviorálními, „subjektivními“ psychologickými přístupy, strukturalistickými teoriemi, ani striktně kulturními či biologickými přístupy (Brown, Knopp 2003). Studium sexuality vyžaduje pečlivé přehodnocení fundamentálních ontologických, epistemologických i metodologických otázek.

Pokud by kritériem hledání nejstarší práce geografie sexualit byl teoreticko-filosofický rámec vycházející z poststrukturalistické a postmodernistické tradice přesahující deskripci, mapování či lokalizaci, pravděpodobně bychom za nejstarší práce *geografií sexualit* označili články Davida Bella a Gill Valentine. Publikace Davida Bella *Insignificant others: lesbian and gay geographies* (1991) si získala světovou pozornost geografů, protože se věnovala prostoru jako faktoru ve formování sexuální identity. Vztah gayů a leseb k volnočasovým prostorům a místům začal nabývat na významu. Gill Valentine například jako první zajímavě teoretizovala o významu *lesbických prostorů* a věnovala se problematice *heterosexualizace prostoru* (Valentine 1993). Valentine s Bellem později společně vydali v geografických žurnálech sérii článků, které dále upevnily problematiku *genderu* a sexualit jako předmětu geografického zkoumání. Nový žurnál: *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* s článkem *All hyped up and no place to go* (Bell a kol. 1994) posílil význam studia prostorovosti sexuality v rámci širší *nové kulturní geografie* a vytvořil další prostor pro plodnou kritickou debatu. Většina autorů se shoduje, že „pravá“ *geografie sexualit*, která studuje sexuální identity, subjektivity a životy z jejich prostorového aspektu (Browne 2009: 314), byla založena Bellem a Valentine v jejich editované knize *Mapping Desire: Geographies of sexualities* (Bell, Valentine 1995), jež byla první souvislou publikací *geografií sexualit*. Kniha dříve marginální témata ukotvila hlouběji do mainstreamového geografického diskurzu a kvůli již přítomným náznakům práce s *queer teorií* je kniha rovněž uvažována jako souvislá *queer geografická* publikace (viz dále). Další významnou knihu s názvem *BodySpace: Destabilising Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, editovala Nancy Duncan (1996), která se zaměřila na ztělesněné (embodied) zkušenosti, produkované a vtisknuté do materiálního kontextu míst a prostorů. Duncan, inspirovaná postmoderními a poststrukturalistickými směry aplikovala v geografickém kontextu některé poznatky z *queer teorie* a studovala například potenciál tělesných praktik gayů a leseb v narušování „samozřejmé“ heterosexuality prostorů (Duncan 1996). Valentine v této publikaci rovněž diskutovala transformativní potenciál gay a lesbických průvodů hrdosti ve zpochybňování každodenní *produkce prostoru*[18] jako heterosexuálního.

Hranice mezi *geografy sexualit* a *queer geografy* prakticky neexistuje, shoduji se tak s názorem dalších autorů, že rozlišovat mezi nimi z institucionálního hlediska není pragmatické (Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston 2008: 241). Společným jmenovatelem těchto rozmanitých proudů geografie jsou sexuality. Mají lidé různých sexuálních orientací s rozdílnými identitami stejné možnosti *prožívání své sexuality* v různých místech? Je hranice mezi tím, co je považováno za sexuální akt napříč různými sexualitami stejná? Ve kterých prostorech a proč mohou lidé s rozdílnými sexualitami vyjadřovat svou jinakost a jak ovlivňují svou jinakostí tyto prostory? Nyní již přiblížím *queer teorii* – nejprve kontext, ve kterém *queer* vzniklo, spolu s problematikou pojící se k pojmu *queer* a nakonec představím *queer teorii* a její vliv na tzv. *queer geografie*.

> *Heteronormativita*
> Obdobně jako je pro feministické geografie ústřední „strukturou“ patriarchát, je pro geografie sexualit klíčová heteronormativita: „Sociální regulační rámec, který produkuje binární rozdělení pohlaví, normalizuje touhu mezi ženami a muži a marginalizuje ostatní sexuality jako odlišné a deviantní“ (Gregory a kol. 2009: 329). Stručnější definicí jsou: „Praktiky, jazyk a instituce, jež v sobě zahrnují či odrážejí ‚režim‘ heterosexuality jako ‚normální‘ (Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston 2008: 782), popř. „Podvědomé vnímání heterosexuality jako jediné (obvyklé) sexuální orientace“ (Beňová a kol. 2007: 43). Heteronormativita: „Odkazuje ke kulturním a sociálním praktikám, které nutí muže a ženy věřit, že heterosexualita je jediná možná sexualita“ (Takács, Mocsonaki, Tóth 2008: 5). Jsou to právě nevyřčené normy (přítomné v kulturní sféře), které vykonstruovaly prostor, pro osoby s většinovou sexuální orientací – pro heterosexuály, pro které je ovšem heterosexualita přirozená, neproblematická, neviditelná a naturalizovaná (Duncan 1996).

QUEER

Queer jako slovo z lingvistického hlediska prošlo bouřlivým vývojem a přísluší mu obrovské množství konotací, proto bylo možná právě využito i k pojmenování teorie. *Queer* je anglickým slovem, které od 16. století označovalo *podivné* či *zvláštní*, v průběhu 20. století prošlo sémantickým obratem a začalo být

18 Blíže kapitola 3 Sociální prostor.

chápáno jako urážlivé slovo užívané pro zesměšnění a ostrakizaci homosexuálů (Browne 2009: 40). V roce 1990 slovo využila LGBT americká aktivistická organizace *Queer Nation* a re-artikulovala ho ve významu, kdy se stalo nástrojem boje proti útlaku homosexuálů, kteří nebyli spokojeni s výsledky dosavadního „gay a lesbického aktivismu". *Queer aktivismus* sehrál rovněž klíčovou roli v odpovědi na společenskou paniku související s rozmachem nemoci AIDS a nepřiměřené reakce vůči homosexuálům. V tomto smyslu se tedy v prostředí homosexuálního aktivismu stalo slovo *queer* novým zastřešujícím termínem[19], který označoval sexuální identity lidí, kteří nechtěli mít sexuální identitu, která by byla společensky srozumitelná (a tedy potenciálně exkluzivní). V této práci slovo *queer* užívám výhradně ve významu teoretického přístupu.

Vznik *queer teorie* souvisel se soudobou potřebou definitivně zpochybnit validitu *karteziánského subjektu*[20], který byl vlivem sílícího poststrukturalistického a postmodernistického vědění postupně *denaturalizován* mysliteli jako Louis Althusser (působení ideologie – interpelace), Sigmund Freud (jedinec si není vědom formativního vlivu mentálních a psychických procesů, není celý a sebe-poznaný), Ferdinand de Saussure (představa o vnitřním, soukromém, osobním je vytvořená skrze systém označení – jazyk), Jacques Lacan (subjektivita vždy nekompletní, neukončená) a v neposlední řadě Michel Foucault (diskurzivně produkovaná subjektivita jako efekt sítí moci). Je možné tak konstatovat, že *queer teorie* povstala či „vykrystalizovala" z nelehké koalice feministických, poststrukturalistických a psychoanalytických teorií, které problematizovaly uvažování lidského subjektu (Salih 2002: 8). Ve svém teoretickém významu *queer* poprvé použila Teresa de Lauretis v roce (1991), vzápětí ho ale odmítla, protože bylo podle jejího názoru znehodnoceno mainstreamem (Browne 2009). Bez ohledu na autorku se termín široce uchytil a stal se pojmenováním pro v současnosti možná nejpodivnější, ale perspektivní teorii (Binnie 2004: 1). Jako teorie se *queer* vyvinula v rámci humanistického akademického prostředí USA (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007: 8), v geografii byla ale *queer teorie* poprvé aplikována ve Velké Británii (Rose 1993; Valentine 1993; Bell, Valentine 1995; Bell a kol. 1994). Podle Knoppa (1998) tomu bylo kvůli rozdílnému zaměření britské (kulturní politiky rezistence) a americké geografie (konsolidace gay ekonomiky a politické síly). *Queer teorie* destabilizuje „subjekt" a dekonstruuje ho jako neurčitý, nestabilní.

> *Queer teorie*
> Queer teorie jako myšlenkový proud, zpochybňuje a problematizuje konsenzus, stabilitu či upřednostňovaný argument. Využívá postmo-

19 Identita, zahrnující gaye, lesby a další, kteří jsou vně normativní heterosexuality (heteronormativity), termín všechny tyto sexuální disidenty sjednotil, umožnil překročit limitace termínů gay a lesba, reagoval také na sílící potřebu práv a viditelnosti pro nově vznikajících identity (bisexual, trans, gender queer, aj.) (Browne 2009: 40).

20 Subjekt sebeurčený, sebe-poznaný, koherentní (Jagose 1996: 78).

dernismu a přehodnocuje sociální život především z perspektivy ne-heterosexuálů (Brown, Knopp 2003: 313). „Queer je způsob myšlení, způsob vědění, specifický způsob kritiky, který má za cíl vyzývat normalizace, prozkoumat předpoklady považované za samozřejmé, především (ne však výlučně) pak kategorie týkající se genderu, pohlaví a sexuality. Queer geografie je obtížně definovatelná, protože nedefinovatelnost, anti-normativita, anti-essencialismus jsou jejím základem." (Browne 2009: 39). Queer není sociálním konstruktivismem (je spíše „dekonstruktivismem"), sexuální identity destabilizuje (viz Butler dále) a považuje je za proměnlivé či nestálé, dekonstruuje. Queer teorie je „společné označení pro rozmanité intervence zaměřené na destabilizaci heterosexuální normy, soustředí se na demonstrování sociální a prostorové konstruovanosti původu všech sexu*álních identit" (Howell 2009:* 122). Queer představuje neustálý boj proti pokusům o specifikování sexuálních identit – „škatulkování". Navzdory sexuální konotaci, kterou queer teorie má, je její aplikace širší a problematizuje lidský subjekt jako celek.

Mnozí autoři se shodují, že klíčový význam pro rozvoj *queer teorie* sehrál francouzský filosof, (post)strukturalista Michel Foucault, který upozornil na to, že sexuality a sexuální identity nejsou „přirozené", ale „vynalezené" v diskurzech druhé poloviny 19. století (Foucault 1978). Foucault svůj argument postavil na tvrzení, že se v této době v nejrůznějších medicínských diskurzech[21] začíná objevovat homosexuál v kontextu identifikovatelného typu osoby (Jagose 1996: 11). Předtím byly určité způsoby sexuálního jednání považovány za hříšné či nezákonné, ale zakázané akty nepředstavovaly vlastnosti, na základě kterých by bylo možné identifikovat typ jedince – homosexuála. Foucault identifikoval sexualitu jako – *diskurzivní produkci*, jako důsledek působení *sítí moci* (Jagose 1996: 80). *Moc* pro Foucaulta byla *produktivní entitou*, nikoliv jen negativním represivním útlakem. Moc je „vykonávána z nespočtu bodů" a má předem neurčený efekt (Foucault 1978: 36). To co moc udržuje v její pozici, není její represivní charakter, ale produktivní potenciál, který vyvolává potěšení, formuje vědění a produkuje diskurz (Foucault 1980). Foucault analyzoval vztah vědění a moci a tvrdil, že každá společnost (skrze multimodální sít moci) produkuje vlastní „režimy pravdy" (tamtéž), které podle situace pravdu produkují. Režimy pravdy pak určují přípustnost a nepřípustnost diskurzů například v rámci institucí jako univerzit, armády, médií, apod.

Když tento přístup aplikujeme na diskurzy sexuality, pak Foucault chápe prostory jako strukturované *sexuálními normami* (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007: 3). Současná *norma heterosexuality* je tak chápána jako mocensky (re)produkovaná a vymáhaná ve formě *disciplinace* společnosti. *Disciplinací* Foucault

21 Foucault vývoj diskurzů v rámci dějin rozvíjí ve své metodologii tzv. archeologii vědění.

Obr. 4 Věznice Presidio Modelo, postavená po vzoru panoptikonu na Isla de la Juventud na Kubě.

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míní formu moci, ve které je *norma* administrována a kontrolována institucemi (školami, věznicemi, nemocnicemi, ale i médii), které ji individualizují a *normalizují* (Foucault 2000). Skrze (nevyřčené) povědomí, které je vymahatelné institucemi (policií) či verbálními intervencemi přihlížejících je docíleno poslušnosti. Celý princip Foucault přiblížil na metafoře tzv. *Benthamova panoptikonu* (viz obrázek 4), který je jakýmsi vězením, ve kterém může být každý neustále pozorován, avšak bez jeho vědomí – proto při obeznámenosti s trestem, který hrozí v případě překročení normy, se vězněný raději sám stane svým vlastním dozorcem – *internalizuje* si normu (Foucault 2000). V případě *heteronormativity* si tak *ne-heterosexuálové* mnohdy internalizují *heterosexuální normu* a přinejmenším navenek se snaží svou jinakost skrývat (tzv. se closetovat[22]).

Těchto velmi složitých úvah využívá např. Linda McDowell (1995) a Foucaultovým konceptem „poslu-šných těl" (docile bodies) vysvětluje to, že není potřeba žádných materiálních zábran nebo nátlaku, k tomu, aby byla *heteronormativita* (re)produkována. Stačí jen upřené *pohledy* (gaze), inspekční pohledy, pohledy pod jejichž nátlakem každý jedinec nakonec skončí *internalizací* tohoto dozoru a stane se sám vlastním dozorcem. Každý jedinec tak tedy uplatňuje vlastní kontrolu nad sebou a proti sobě (McDowell 1995: 78). Věřím, že je evidentní, že tento koncept dalece teoreticky přesahuje oblast sexuality.

22 Blíže např. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick.

Jak uvidíme ale dále, tak na rozdíl od *panoptikonu*, *heteronormativita* není zcela hegemonická a její konstrukce nabývá různých rysů v různých místech (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007: 4; Pitoňák 2013b).

Asi nejvýznamněji geografické zkoumání sexuality ovlivnila práce Judith Butler (především 1990 a 1993), zvláště pak její *teorie performativity*, která změnila nejen *geografie sexuality*, *feministické geografie*, ale i významnou část současné *sociální teorie* jako celku (včetně queer teorie). Butler ve svých pracích vychází z mnoha autorů, včetně Foucaulta (produktivní moc), Austina (teorie mluvních aktů), Freuda (obecně psychoanalýza, zvláště pak koncept melancholie), Althussera (interpelace), Derridy (dekonstrukce) a dalších významných filosofů. Na tomto místě tyto teorie nelze redukovat, vyžadovaly by příliš prostoru. Číst práce Butler není snadné, lingvisticky jsou komplikované (Sibalis 2004: 11–13), a je možné je považovat za radikálně *(post)feministické*. Post, protože dekonstruují samotné kategorie, na kterých feminismus staví (žena/muž), narušuje „uznávané" rozlišování mezi pohlavím a *genderem*. Butler vysvětlila, že nedostatečné pochopení jejich konstruktivistické podstaty vytváří iluzi „přirozenosti" pohlaví a „konstruovanosti" genderu. *Identity* (gender a pohlaví) prostě „jen neexistují" a nejsou „vždy již-přítomnými" projevy nějakých „přirozených rozdílností", ale jsou naopak výsledkem opakování sociálních a diskurzivních konvencí, které ve formě našich akcí (řeč, postupy atd.) – *performancí* – transformují těla do podoby lidem srozumitelné např. jako muž či žena (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007: 9). Vně těchto „svých sociálně vymáhaných podob a srozumitelností" podle Butler nemohou těla ani existovat.

> *Nikdo se nerodí jako žena, ale stává se ženou, samotná žena je termínem v procesu ustavování, jehož konstrukce nemá začátku ani konce … gender je proces, jenž nemá ani počátku ani konce, je něčím, co „děláme", spíše než „jsme".* (Butler 1990: 33)[23]

Zajisté se jedná o poměrně radikální uvažování, není vhodné jej ovšem číst jako odpor „vůči evidentnímu", tj. např. vůči tomu, že muž a žena se anatomicky liší, Butler zde jen poukazuje na to, že jsou to lidé, kteří „si vybrali" určité znaky, na základě kterých jejich společnosti započaly kontinuální performativní odlišování a vytvořily genderové kategorie muže a ženy. Myšlenka, že „subjekt je spíše efektem nežli příčinou", je klíčová pro její *teorii performativní identity*. Popisovat *gender* jako proces, aktivitu či performanci může vést k podezření z voluntarismu, uvažování svobodného subjektu (aktéra) – takového, který si vybírá (např. gender) oblečení ze šatníku. Butler tuto analogii odmítá (1993), pokud ale „šatník" problematizujeme, lze ho jako analogii užít. „Volba" do jisté míry svobodná je, ale je třeba si uvědomit, že žijeme v rámci

23 Inspirována filosofií Simone de Beauvoir.

určitých zákonů, určité kultury, a „svobodná volba" našeho „metaforického oblečení" bude i bez našeho vědomí splňovat požadavky vašich kolegů a výběr bude rovněž omezen faktory jako příjem či sociální status. Genderové identity jsou konstruované a utvářené jazykem, což znamená, že *genderové identity* nikdy nepředchází *jazyku*. Není to tedy identita, která „dělá" diskurz nebo jazyk, ale obráceně – jazyk a diskurz „dělají" genderovou identitu – v tomto smyslu je genderová identita performativní[24] (Salih 2002: 64). Je to právě tento přístup, *teorie performativity*, který geografové využili v chápání prostoru jako procesu, který se „děje" a je aktivně vytvářen pomocí akcí a činů (performancí), jež se v něm odehrávají. Jedním z úkolů *queer geografů* sexuality je zaměřovat se na zviditelňování sexuálních performativit, opakování heterosexuálních performancí, které heterosexualitu normalizují, a proto vytvářejí dojem, že je každodenní prostor považován za „zproštěný sexuality" (Bell a kol. 1994; Binnie 1997). *Teorie performativity* měla klíčový vliv na geografické uvažování produkce sexuality i prostoru (Bell a kol. 1994).

Neustálé opakování norem, pravidel, zvyklostí aj. se děje právě s pomocí performancí, které je podle Butler možné uvažovat i „parodicky", kdy lze měnit význam performancí a s nimi souvisejících norem, pravidel aj. Butler zde teoreticky vychází z Derridovy dekonstrukce, kterou propojila se svou *teorií performativity*, resp. zde již s tzv. *citacionalitou*. Proč ale již složitou terminologii ještě komplikovat, proto si jen zjednodušeně představme *podstatu dekonstrukce*, tedy poststrukturalistickou tezi, že slova, symboly, znaky a jiné významy (včetně performancí) mají svůj „význam" vždy jakoby mnohoznačný a odložený. Nikdy nelze zaručit fixní/stabilní význam (čehokoliv), a lze tedy vědomě i nevědomě „vytrhávat z kontextu" a tím „podkopávat" stabilitu (významů). Teoreticky tak existuje prostor pro změnu norem a diskurzů – prostor pro *subverzi* – moci i diskurzu. *Subverze* je klíčovou úvahou nutnou pro pochopení možnosti „unikat z panoptikonu[25]", možnosti uvažovat prostor skutečně (re) produktivním způsobem, kde i prostory, které nesplňují heterosexuální normu, mohou existovat – *queer prostory* (průvody hrdosti ne-heterosexuálů, nejrůznější ne-heteronormativní filmové festivaly, gay, lesbické, bisexuální, transsexuální aj. podniky). *Queer prostory* nemusí být *queer* neustále (bary, kluby, restaurace), ale mohou svých *queer* „kvalit" nabývat pouze nárazově (průvody hrdosti, festivaly) či periodicky (noční život městských čtvrtí). *Queer prostor* je charakterizován dualitou, proměnlivostí a simultánností (Valentine, Skelton

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24 Jedná se o značně obtížně pochopitelnou tezi, vychází však z teorií, které Butler rozvíjí, a zde nemám prostor o nich více diskutovat; především rozvíjí Austinovu teorii mluvních aktů, Althusserovu interpelaci subjektu a Derridovu dekonstrukci.

25 Znovu připomínám, diskutovaný teoretický přístup nelze zaměňovat za voluntaristický. Foucaultův přístup poukázal na (re)produktivní podstatu moci a v ní skrytý potenciál. Butler identifikovala performativity, které si využitím metafory šatníku „nevybíráme zcela dobrovolně" a užitím Derridovy dekonstrukce uvažujeme samotnou podstatu symbolické struktury „jazyka" jako „proces". Jsem přesvědčen, že queer teoretický přístup pak přispívá k diskusi a překonání dualismu struktury–aktéra.

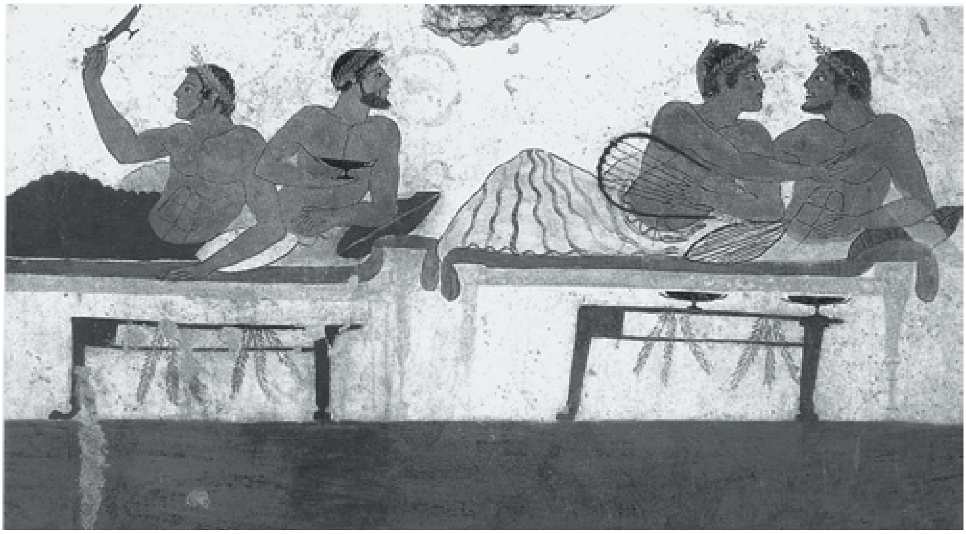
2003). Není ale samozřejmé, že každý gay či lesbický podnik tyto *queer* „kvality“ splňuje (Pitoňák 2013b).

Na základě těchto teorií geografové již na začátku 90. let naznačili (David Bell), že prostor není „přirozeně“ heterosexuální, ale je *heterosexualizovaný* skrze specifické činy a normy – stylizované, opakující se akty (performance), které aktivně produkují a *naturalizují* veřejný prostor jako heterosexuální (Rushbrook 2002: 200). Na základě norem, regulací přijatelného chování na veřejnosti či ve sdílených prostorech, *každodenní sociální praktiky* (např. i sexualizované vztahy mezi těly, sebou samými a ostatními) vytvářejí normy, které regulují tyto prostory (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007: 2). *Heteronormativizace* je navíc často ještě posílena vládními politikami na lokálních, státních či nadnárodních úrovních skrze zákony upřednostňující heterosexuální páry a „nukleární rodinu“ (zákony, zdravotnictví, penze a imigrační výhody) při současném omezování či odmítání obdobných výhod gay mužům, lesbám a dalším ne-heterosexuálům (Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston 2008). *Queer geografie* se zaměřují na porozumění procesů *sexualizujících prostor* (Panelli 2004: 114), dekonstruují dualistické konstrukty i nejrůznější modernistické dichotomie – veřejný × soukromý; reproduktivní × produktivní; muž × žena; homosexuální × heterosexuální; levice × pravice … (Aitchinson 1999: 30). V *queer geografických pracích* je tedy premisa „přirozené“ heterosexuality prostoru zpochybněna a opakované heterosexuální performativity jsou zviditelňovány jako procesy, které normalizují každodenní prostor pro heterosexualitu natolik, že není za sexualitu považována vůbec – „neviditelná“ (avšak všudypřítomná) heterosexualita. Samotný *prostor* je pak v *queer geografii* chápán jako proces a sociální produkt zároveň, který vzniká formováním každodenních *prostorových praktik*, tvoří a je tvořen sociálními vztahy. *Místo* jako další důležitý geografický termín je v *queer* kontextu užíváno ve významu *dějišť* a *lokalit*, do kterých jsou sociální vztahy „vepsány“ (Rushbrook 2002: 200). Prostor proto jednoznačně není pouze „kontejnerem, ve kterém se odehrávají věci, ale je aktivně produkován skrze akce, které se v něm odehrávají“ (Browne 2009: 42).

Sexuální identity

Jakékoliv geografické myšlení o sexualitách musí započít průzkumem toho, jak jsou sexuální identity konstruované a projevované napříč prostorem. Podle Bell a Valentine je projevování (performance) identit závislé na prostoru (Bell, Valentine, 1995: 30). Queer geografie začala zpochybňovat představy o „fixních“ identitách, univerzální platnosti „západního kontextu“ většiny prací; prokázala, že termíny gay a lesba zůstávají zcela prázdné, jsou-li vytrženy ze svých „západních kontextů“ (Elder, Knopp, Nast 2003: 203). Všechny sexuální identity dávají značně omezený smysl, jsou-li vyjmuty ze svých lokálních, regionálních či národních kontextů (viz obrázky). Politiky sexuality jsou vždy kontextuál-

Obr. 5 Freska z období starého Řecka, kterou lze nalézt v hrobce potápěče v bývalé Řecké kolonii Paestum, leží na území dnešní Kampánie na jihu Itálie. Znázorňuje tzv. pederastii (náklonnost vůči dospívajícím mužům), stejnopohlavní sexualitu, která měla své „místo“ například ve spartánské armádě. Lze tedy odvozovat, že tehdejší normativní sexuální identity, ale i gender muže byly odlišné od těch dnešních. Příkladů těchto časoprostorových odlišností najdeme mnoho a není potřeba se uchylovat ani do vzdálené minulosti, příliš vzdálené kultury atp.



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ní (Browne, Lim, Brown 2007: 11). Queer přístup chápe identity a těla jako proměnlivé, ustavičně přetvářené, rovněž prostor, místo a krajina nejsou fixní, ale jsou v neustálém stavu přechodu důsledkem vytrvalých, protichůdných (dialektických) střetů moci a odporu v rámci jejich uživatelů a zprostředkovatelů (Aitchinson 1999: 29).

Identity, subjekty a prostory, jsou příliš často ustavovány tím, čím nejsou (heterosexualita není homosexualitou; žena není mužem; veřejnost není soukromím; atd.). Toto dualistické myšlení je potřeba neustále podrobovat kritice, dekonstrukci a přehodnocení – studovat jejich proměnlivost v čase a prostoru.

ZÁVĚR

Všechen prostor je *sexualizován*, zahrnuje v sobě normy sexuálního chování a identity, díky potenciální nestabilitě a původu všech kategorií, norem aj. je všechen prostor rovněž potenciálně *queer* (Howell 2009: 123). *Queer* přístupy kritizují mainstreamovou geografii jako *heteronormativní* a destabilizují sexuální kategorie, čímž naznačují, že naše sexualita nemusí být stabilní v čase a prostoru. Jon Binnie tvrdil, že produkce geografického vědění vyloučila *ne-heterosexuály* a že nová kulturní geografie byla stejně *heteronormativní* jako dřívější pozitivistické geografie, poukázal na potřebu začlenit do geografie prožité zkušenosti *ne-heterosexuálů* (Binnie 1997: 224).

Queer perspektiva pochopitelně nemůže pouze dekonstruovat a kritizovat ostatní, musí kritizovat zároveň i sebe – *queer teorie* trvá na tom, že žádná pozice (žádná perspektiva) není zcela neškodná či nevinná, a tedy bezproblémová. Přístup k procesu poznání by mohl být chápán tzv. *dialekticky*, tak, jak k němu přistupuje soudobá významná teoretička Judith Butler. Za předpokladu, že budeme přistupovat k „pre" jako tezi a „post" jako k antitezi, pak *dialektika* usiluje o jejich vzájemnou interakci, jež nepovede k finálnímu řešení, ale k syntéze, jež se stane základem pro další tezi, následovanou novou antitezí. *Dialektický pohled* na problematiku „post-přístupů" pak odhaluje, že „post-přístupy" nejsou něčím pouze překonávajícím „pre", kumulujícím „post" s cílem dosáhnout univerzální „pravdy", ale naopak uvažuje proces poznání nekonečně dialekticky, nekonečně prohlubující naše vždy omezené poznání světa (Salih 2002).

Představenou problematikou se v současném převážně interdisciplinárním světě vědy pochopitelně nevěnuje pouze geografie, ale také další humanitní a sociální disciplíny (Brown, Knopp 2003: 242). Česká geografie by tak měla tuto problematiku po vzoru anglo-amerických geografií rovněž studovat, protože na rozdíl od odlišností v rasové a etnické struktuře (od USA) tu lidé různých sexualit rovněž žijí a geografická perspektiva by neměla zůstat ve stínu dalších společenskovědních oborů, které již v Česku (v průběhu prostorového obratu) tuto problematiku zkoumají (např. M. Kolářová, V. Sokolová, K. Nedbálková, M. Fafejta, Z. Sloboda).

Geografie zabývající se sexualitami v prostoru se inspirovaly z teorií přijatých *feministickými* a *gender geografiemi*. Zpočátku studovaly především členy sexuálních menšin a jejich organizaci v prostoru (geografie gay ghetta a vesnic), včetně způsobů jeho využívání a prožívání (gay a lesbické geografie). Posléze se vyprofilovaly v obecnější přístupy, tzv. *geografie sexualit*, ze kterých některé postupem času přecházely v teoretičtější a obtížněji uchopitelné *queer geografie* (Gregory a kol. 2009: 680). V současnosti dochází také k rozvoji *queer geografií* zabývajících se heterosexualitami, které se v prvopočátcích *geografie sexualit* omezovaly pouze na studia spojená s prostitucí. Heterosexuální identity tak stejně jako ty *ne-heterosexuální* v Česku teprve čekají na svou geografickou dekonstrukci a kritické přehodnocení jejich „homogenity a neproblematičnosti" (Elder, Knopp, Nast 2003: 206). *Queer geografie* v současnosti „queeruje" prakticky cokoliv od lidských těl až po *kyberprostor* (Bell a kol. 1994; Longhurst 1995; Brown, Knopp 2003; Brown 1994). Není tak omezena pouze na sexuality (které byly prvotním impulzem jejich vzniku), ale nově v rámci důrazu na tzv. *intersekcionální přístup* zahrnuje i *gender*, rasu, etnicitu a další sociální identity (Browne 2009: 40), nebo chcete-li *osy lidské diference*.

Relevance studia diference je nesporná, je přítomná v prostoru, v našich vnitřních světech, v celé společnosti i jinde. K jejímu výzkumnému uchopení ovšem potřebujeme nástroje, které jsou k diferenci citlivé a pomohou nám ji zachytit, nikoliv ji potlačit či „zaškatulkovat". *Queer teorie* a *geografie sexualit* jsou bohatou oblastí studia, která nám v nejbližších letech může napomoci porozumět a diskutovat mnohá, v české geografii doposud nestudovaná témata, zároveň však mají potenciál vnést nové perspektivy i do oblastí, které s nimi zdánlivě nesouvisejí.

Oblast potenciálního studia v české *geografii sexualit* a *queer geografii* je rozsáhlá. Z velké části zůstávají neproblematizované například politiky ustavování a vyjednávání lidských sexuálních, genderových, aj. identit, jejich souvislosti s vývojem identit národních či regionálních, problematika sexuálního občanství, ale i mocenských pozic subjektů v prostoru a čase, včetně role prostoru na tyto pozice. Nezpochybněné zůstávají především nejrůznější normy, nejen ta heterosexuální, jsou široce zakořeněny nejen ve společnosti, ale i v akademickém prostředí. Při odborném psaní stále narážíme na mluvnické poznámky související s objektivitou a subjektivitou, jsou však stále povrchní a neproblematické, vždy jakoby „mimochodem". Neexistuje výzkumník či výzkumnice, kteří by byli zproštěni působení sofistikované sítě moci, každý píše z nějaké pozice (pozicionalita), subjektivita každého byla formována specificky a manifestuje pak v určitých specifických konstelacích. Máme jen omezenou možnost proniknout skrze závoj vlastní nepoznatelnosti, naše subjektivita je z velké části tedy nepoznatelná. Je potřeba si proto tyto skutečnosti uvědomovat a ve svém „psaní" s touto vlastní pozicí čtenáře seznamovat (reflexivita). Realita pro nás může zůstat zahalena závojem struktury jazyka, je to ale právě jazyk, díky kterému o ní dokážeme vůbec uvažovat a studovat ji. Podobně jako realita není stálá, ani jazyk není fixní, vyvíjí se a podléhá neustálému přetváření. Nezapomínejme však, že k hlubšímu poznání reality, ale i k jejímu vytváření či přetváření přispívají i ostatní formy jazyka, nejen písmo, ale i mluvená řeč, každodenní tělesné akty jako pohledy, pohyb, úsměv, obrazy, vizualita a obecně vše, co bychom zařadily do kategorie komunikace. *Geografie sexualit* a *queer geografie* tak v podstatě můžou dát „hlas" dalším perspektivám, které doposud „mlčely" a jejichž zkušenosti mohou přispět k dalšímu poznání.

Prostorovost, institucionalizace a kontextualita heteronormativity: studie vyjednávání neheterosexuálních identit v Česku[1] / Michal Pitoňák

Spatiality, institutionalization and contextuality of heteronormativity: Study of non-heterosexual identity negotiation in Czechia

Abstract: The article focuses on the relationship between space and sexuality, phenomena rarely studied together in the Czech social sciences. I use heteronormativity to describe the power polarization of largely socially constructed institutionalized relations between various sexualities. These polarizations are also inherently spatial, thus geographical phenomena. First, I focus on the discussion of various theoretical standpoints linked with foundations of heteronormativity. Secondly, I critically rethink the linear view of non-heterosexual identity development and discuss non-linear alternatives of 'passing' and sexual 'closetedness'. I then incorporate this into the contextual model of sexual-identity negotiation. Thirdly, I use this model for understanding the spatial dynamics of heteronormativity and connected levels of non--heterosexuals' comfort in particular spaces. Finally, by utilizing a rarely used visual methodology conducted on a sample of 1,589 Czech non-heterosexuals I focus on measuring the 'perceived levels of heteronormativity' in selected spaces. Results were translated into an 'index of presumed spatial heteronormativity' allowing for better understanding the everyday spatial negotiations of non-heterosexual identities.

Key words: heteronormativity of space, institutialization, geographies of sexualities, queer geography, identity negotiation, non-heterosexuality

Studium sexualit rozhodně v Česku nepatří mezi nejčastější předmět studia geografie. Zahraničním geografickým oborům nejsou ale následující otázky nijak cizí: Mají neheterosexuální[2] lidé stejný přístup k veřejným či poloveřejným prostorům jako heterosexuálové, cítí se v nich rovnoprávně nebo stejně pohodlně jako jejich většinoví spoluobčané?

Výzkum v oblasti geografie sexualit a queer geografie v současnosti nabývá na významu, který má nejen sociálněgeografickou, ale i široce společenskou relevanci. Na makroregionální úrovni to dokládají například nedávné legislativní změny týkající se neheterosexuálních lidí v Rusku (zákony týkající se homosexuální propagandy), USA (zrušení ochrany různopohlavního sňatku jako privilegované instituce) či Francii (zrovnoprávnění stejnopohlavních i různopohlavních manželství). Studium zabývající se ostatními měřítkovými úrovněmi vykazuje neméně zajímavý vztah ke studiu prostorovosti sexuality, tuto situaci dokládají mnohé práce zaměřené na život neheterosexuálů ve velkoměstech (Binnie 1995; Hubbard 2001), ale i na venkově (Bell, Valentine 1995). Problematika spojená s úrovní mikroregionální pak, jak dále ozřejmím, již ukazuje komplikované každodenní prostorové životy nejrůzněji diferencovaných lidí. Protože prací zaměřených na každodenní prostorové životy neheterosexuálů není mnoho, rozhodl jsem se přispět k této interdisciplinární problematice z pohledu geografie. V této práci se zaměřím na geografii neheterosexualit jak z teoretického, tak empirického hlediska, kdy teoretické argumenty podložím na základě primárních kvantitativních dat získaných v rámci dotazníkového šetření. Věřím, že se mi podaří prokázat, že kvantitativní metodologie a smíšené přístupy jsou v oblasti interdisciplinárního či sociálněgeografického studia sexuality relevantní.

Krátce se ale ještě v úvodu pozastavím nad důvody, kterými si vysvětluji, proč je podobná problematika v české geografii řešena teprve nyní.

Sociální (humánní) geografie během své dlouhé historie byla vždy velmi osobitou disciplínou na pomezí přírodních a sociálních věd (Matthews, Herbert 2008). Nejprve produkovala převážně idiografické vědění (popis regionů, specifik), které bylo v polovině minulého století v rámci období krize identity geografie z větší části nahrazeno produkcí vědění nomotetického (lokalizační modely apod.), které po vzoru dalších přírodních věd jako fyziky, matematiky, chemie a biologie inklinovalo k hledání pravidelností a k tvorbě teorií silně pozitivistické orientace (Kitchin 2006). V anglo-americké geografii byl prolomen dominantní pozitivismus a produkce tohoto typu vědění už ve druhé polovině 20. století. Pokrok u nás byl však značně ovlivněn důsledkem vlivu bývalého Sovětského svazu na tehdejší Československo, kdy byla místní produkce vědění odchýlena od své „původní evoluční trajektorie". Bez tohoto vlivu by se dnes možná více podobala současné anglo-americké geografické tvorbě, především té německé či francouzské, na které měla česká geografie v minulosti silné vazby. Kromě dalších důsledků byla „naše" geografie diskursivně (zejména ideologicky) separována od klíčových společenských dopadů sociálních hnutí, např. feministického, gay či lesbického, které od 60. let minulého století aktivně měnily společenskou situaci v USA a později ovlivňovaly dění v západní Evropě či ve Skandinávii. Celá sociálněgeografická realita u nás byla „strukturálně" zasažena procesy homogenizace a nivelizace, které byly řízeny socialistickými politikami, jež mimo jiné vedly k dogmatizaci, ostrakizaci a všeobecně nižší viditelnosti diference. Po pádu socialistického režimu začala éra transformace a české (v této době stále ještě československé) katedry geografie, které byly tradičně institucionalizovány na přírodovědných fakultách, začaly studovat mnoho nejrůznějších oblastí spojených s procesy transformace (Drbohlav et al. 2004) stále především z pozitivistické, materialistické a přírodovědné perspektivy, které byly pro studium některých transformačních změn relativně vhodné. Na méně „hmatatelné", ale přesto mnohdy podstatou prostorové změny ve společnosti, reagovaly dříve než geografie další společenskovědní obory jako sociologie a filosofie. Česká geografie proto prozatím, až na světlé výjimky (Růžička 2006), nijak významně nerozvinula citlivost k diferenci na základě pohlaví, genderu, rasy či sexuality, která je charakteristická pro tzv. kulturní obrat v geografii (Gregory et al. 2009). Určité „kulturní zpoždění" je tedy u české geografie pochopitelné, domnívám se ale, že i ostatní společenské vědy byly poznamenány, protože u nich je možné zase registrovat nedostatky v tzv. prostorovém obratu (Gregory et al. 2009), kdy sociálněprostorová perspektiva není dostatečně rozpracována. Hodnotovým cílem této práce je tedy poukázat na potřebu interdisciplinární spolupráce, jež pomůže prohloubit kulturní a prostorový obrat v českých sociálních vědách, tj. sblížit sociální geografii s dalšími sociálněvědními a humanitními obory.

V této práci se postupně zaměřím na vysvětlení institucionalizace a kontextuality prostorovosti společenského řádu heteronormativity, jak z hlediska teoretického, tak i empirického. Cílem bude odpovědět na otázky, jak mohou být prostorové životy neheterosexuálů strukturovány a zda je heteronormativita jimi vnímaná všude stejná, a pokud není, jaký je její prostorový rozměr.

Institucionalizace heteronormativity

V laickém či mediálním diskursu týkajícím se negativních postojů vůči „homosexualitě" se lze často setkat s termínem homofobie. Podle O. Pechové (2007) se jedná o termín nevhodný, a proto se přikláním k termínu heteronormativita, jež je rovněž analyzován v zahraniční literatuře, ze které převážně čerpám. Heteronormativitu lze chápat jako „společenský regulační rámec, produkující binární dělbu pohlaví, normalizující touhu mezi muži a ženami, který marginalizuje ostatní sexuality jako odlišné a deviantní" (Gregory et al. 2009: 329). Heteronormativita je tedy jakousi společenskou strukturou či řádem, jehož studium vyžaduje interdisciplinární přístup. K tomu, abychom zodpověděli otázku, jakým způsobem je tato společenská struktura ustavována a čím vlastně je, je třeba proniknout hlouběji k podstatě sociologie vědění. V rámci sociálněkonstruktivistického přístupu P. L. Bergera a T. Luckmanna je realita pojímána jako „nepřetržitý sled typizací" (Berger, Luckmann 1999: 38). Podle nich tvoří základ sociálního řádu teorie institucionalizace, v jejímž rámci instituce vznikají v důsledku činnosti lidí, to, zda vědomé či nevědomé, ponechme pro začátek stranou. Lidskou činnost Berger s Luckmannem popisují jako habitualizovanou, tedy ustálenou ve vzorcích a rutinizovanou v zásobě vědění. Při rutinizaci dochází k vyloučení nespočtu možností, kterými lze splnit daný úkol. K ilustraci autoři užívají známý příklad úkolu výroby kánoe ze sirek, rutinizací totiž ve výsledku dojde k ustálení jedné cesty její výroby, i když možných postupů je nespočet (Berger, Luckmann 1999). Rutinizace tak umožňuje uvolnit napětí a „mentální energii" např. pro zdokonalování postupů. Určité typy činností, mezi kterými Berger a Luckmann explicitně probírají i sexualitu, jsou dále typizovány pro relevantní vykonavatele činností. Tyto typizace jsou již vždy institucemi, sdílenými a dostupnými všem členům dané společenské skupiny (Berger, Luckmann 1999: 58). Instituce tak stanovují, že činnost typu X bude vykonávána aktéry typu X (c.d.). Každá instituce, která byla někdy ustavena a je předána následující generaci, se stává historickou, čímž dochází k její objektivizaci a upevnění v realitě. Berger s Luckmannem (c.d.) apelují na to, že institucím není možné porozumět bez chápání jejich historie. Studiu historie instituce sexuality zasvětil významnou část svého života např. Michel Foucault (1978). Instituce tedy řídí lidské chování, stanovují mu určitý vzorec, který určuje jeden směr chování ze všech možných (kdo s kým, kde s čím, kdy, za jakých okolností, jak často atd.). Klíčový v kontextu teorie institucionalizace Bergera a Luckmanna je fakt, že instituce mají řídicí charakter již z podstaty své existence, některé mají samozřejmě i různé sekundární řídicí mechanismy a systém sociální kontroly (právní úpravy atd.). „Říci, že určitý druh lidské činnosti byl institucionalizován, je totéž jako říci, že tento druh činnosti byl podřízen sociální kontrole" (Berger, Luckmann 1999: 58). Kontinuitu v čase institucím zajišťují procesy socializace, v rámci kterých hraje nejdůležitější funkci jazyk. Jazyk instituce objektivizuje, anonymizuje a zpřístupňuje všem, kteří ho sdílejí (c.d.: 44). Svět institucí vytvořený člověkem je zdánlivě objektivní, objektivizovanou realitou, kterou každé dítě v průběhu své (primární) socializace internalizuje za svou tak, jak je, a nezpochybňuje ji. Vztahy mezi objektivizací, internalizací a externalizací (zpětným promítáním internalizovaného světa) je třeba považovat za dialektické (Berger, Luckmann 1999), viz dále.

Jazyk vtiskuje institucionálnímu řádu logiku, která podle Bergera a Luckmanna není v rámci vědění zpochybňována. Věděním zde nemyslí teoretické, ale tzv. preteoretické (primární) vědění, tedy souhrn toho, „co každý ví" o sociálním světě. Patří sem souhrny pouček, morálních zásad, lidových moudrostí, hodnot, přesvědčení i mýtů (c.d.: 68). Toto vědění lze chápat jako návod, který definuje a vytváří role, jež mají být v kontextu daných institucí hrány. Právě kontextualita, jak dále uvidíme, je pro interpretaci klíčová.

Obdobným způsobem uvažuje o kontextech každodenního života i E. Goffman, který každodenní interakce přímo připodobňuje k divadelní hře (Goffman 1999). Role jsou tedy „typizace v kontextu objektivované zásoby vědění", v rámci kterého jsou známy zásady rolí i jejich známost, proto jsou jejich vykonavatelé (aktéři) i za jejich způsob vykonávání činěni zodpovědnými (Berger, Luckman 1999: 76).

Svět institucí lze tedy chápat jako svět působení moci. Neodlučitelné provázání moci s věděním popsal vhodně např. M. Foucault (1980, 1995). Nekonformní odchýlení a vybočení od tohoto vědění, obecně platného souboru pravd (od správného vykonávání role), je sankcionováno, označováno buď za morální poklesek, mentální chorobu, nebo prostou nevědomost (Berger, Luckmann 1999: 68). Role a jejich způsob „hraní", „předvádění" či „performování" (viz dále) tak reprezentují institucionální řád, podobně jako jazyk či objekty, jejichž symbolické významy musejí být neustále „oživovány". Foucault při svém studiu mocenských vztahů v tomto kontextu místo rolí uvažuje o tzv. dispozitivech, které chápe jako specifické mocenské vztahy vtisknuté do konkrétních konfigurací v určitých oblastech, které máme k dispozici pro naše akce a jež zároveň omezují naše životy (Foucault 1978). Prostorová, geografická perspektiva řádu je zde čitelná již přinejmenším implicitně. Ve Foucaultově výkladu je jakoby každý „chycen v pasti" těchto mocenských vztahů a nemá možnost uniknout z jejich hegemonického disciplinačního sevření, užívá proto dokonce metafory Benthamova „dokonalého" vězení Panoptikonu (Foucault 1995). Souhlasím s kritiky (Giddens 1984; Butler 1993), že Foucaultova perspektiva je možná až příliš funkcionalistická a neposkytuje příliš prostoru pro jedincovo záměrné jednání, které je podle A. Giddense, J. Butler i P. L. Bergera s T. Luckmannem vůči sociálnímu řádu v dialektickém vztahu.

Na rozdíl od Bergera, Luckmanna či Goffmana další autoři problematizují míru svobody jednání aktéra nejen v oblasti lidského vědomí a jeho racionality, ale také v jeho nevědomé části mysli (Butler 1993; Giddens 1984). Tato problematika ale patří do širší funkcionalisticky-voluntaristické debaty známé jako struktura vs. aktér. Judith Butler rozpracovala především vybrané psychoanalytické práce Freuda a Lacana, čímž podpořila vlastní argumentaci týkající se neodlučitelných souvislostí mezi sociální konstrukcí institucí pohlaví, genderu a sexuality (Butler 1990, 1993).

Práce Butler je zde důležitá, protože představila svou teorii performativity (Butler 1990, 1993). V kontextu vztahu (subjektivity) jedince k heteronormativitě kriticky rekonceptualizovala Foucaultovy teze a konfrontovala je s psychoanalytickou a dekonstruktivistickou perspektivou. Butler poukázala na to, že za konstrukci (tvorbu) subjektu nejsou zodpovědné pouze mocenské vztahy (a tedy vědění), ale že samotné mocenské vztahy jsou neoddělitelné od subjektů, jež (heteronormativní) normy a zvyky (re)produkují za pomocí svých (re)citací a performativit (Butler 1993). V kontextu předchozí analýzy práce Bergera a Luckmanna se zde jedná v podstatě o shodný pohled bez použití explicitních výrazů jako role či drama. S rozdílem v psychoanalytické úrovni teorie Butler tedy podobně jako Goffman upozorňuje, že konstrukce subjektu je závislá nejen na socializaci, čili přijetí mocenských vztahů internalizací, ale také na jejich neustálé reprezentaci a „oživování" (slovy Butler na performativitě). Pozastavím se na chvíli u termínů performativita a performance, které jsou často zaměňovány, ačkoliv mají podle Butler zcela odlišný význam.

Dílo Judith Butler bohužel stále nebylo přeloženo[3] do češtiny, a protože její literární styl je až extrémně neorganizovaný a sofistikovaný (Salih 2002: 63), vzniká mnoho nedorozumění, která jsou pochopitelná a často předpokladatelná či nevyhnutelná. Autorčino psaní je mnohdy zařazováno do tzv. queer teorie, v rámci které se o významové konsolidovanosti neuvažuje (Browne, Nash 2010). Přesná definovanost či srozumitelnost není v tomto kontextu žádoucí, jednalo by se v podstatě o queer oxymóron. Ani v rámci dekonstruktivistického myšlení není pevné ustálení významů myslitelné (Derrida 1977). V raných pracích Butler (1990) ještě termíny performance a performativita zaměňuje, performativní zde ale definuje jako: „ustavující či ztvárňující to, čím je prohlašováno, že je" (Butler 1990: 25). Hovoří-li tedy Butler o performativní genderové identitě, má na mysli proces, děj představení bez představitele. Později však již Butler explicitně uvádí, že zatímco performance předpokládá předem existující subjekt, performativita napadá vlastní úvahu o předem existujícím subjektu (Butler et al. 1994: 33). Koncept performativity Butler vychází ze starší Austinovy teorie mluvních aktů (Austin 1962), konfrontovaný právě s Derridovou dekonstrukcí (Derrida 1977) a psychoanalýzou. Termíny performativita a performance je tedy třeba rozlišovat a nepředpokládat dopředu existenci subjektu, který nemusí předem existovat a být tedy vůbec ukončitelný. Nahrazování termínu performativita termínem performance je proto chybou, která může vést k chápání jednání aktérů jako nějakého zamýšleného uměleckého představení či provádění činnosti. Od takového voluntaristického výkladu své práce se Butler explicitně distancovala (Butler 1993).

Určité záměrné a revoluční podrytí či svržení řádu není tedy podle autorů možné. Nerevoluční subverzivní praktiky v rámci prostoru X a dominantního sociálního řádu A (např. heteronormativity) však mohou díky dekonstruktivistickému chápání významu výroků či lidských performancí produkovat alternativy sociálního řádu B (např. homonormativitu). Výrok X, o kterém komunikuje osoba A s osobou B, nemá z dekonstruktivistické perspektivy nikdy zcela zaručený smysl či ukončený význam, existuje proto možnost pro jeho alternativní pochopení (např. smích veselý × smích hysterický; polibek motivovaný vtipem × polibek z citu), a tedy i subverzi. Narušení zdánlivě hegemonických struktur, tedy i heteronormativity, může být dosaženo lokálně jak záměrným jednáním, tak i performativitami. Performativní mód jednání je vlastní jakékoliv dialektické konceptualizaci vědění (Butler 1993; Salih 2002). Sexuální norma je proto vždy potenciálně queer (queer zde chápeme ve významu antinormativní). Uvažování Butler lze do jisté míry na úrovni lidského jednání srovnávat s Giddensovou teorií strukturace (Giddens 1984), ve které je rovněž kladen důraz na dialektické vztahy, nikoliv však explicitně na sexualitu či gender. V již uvedené queer teorii je tomu ale naopak, ta se sexualitou a genderem zabývá primárně.

Označením queer teorie mám na mysli „společné označení pro rozmanité intervence zaměřené na destabilizaci heterosexuální normy, které se soustředí na demonstrování sociální a prostorové konstruovanosti původu všech sexuálních identit“ (Howell 2009: 122). Obecně lze queer teorii chápat jako „myšlenkový proud zpochybňující a problematizující konsenzus, stabilitu či upřednostňovaný argument, který ke splnění svých cílů využívá postmodernismu a přehodnocuje sociální život především z perspektivy neheterosexuálů“ (Brown, Knopp 2003: 313). Mnoho z geografů sexualit zasvětilo svou práci právě tzv. queerování prostoru, ve smyslu destabilizování či denaturalizace heteronormativity v jeho rámci (Bell, Valentine 1995; Duncan 1996). Ke zformování toho, co dnes nazýváme queer teorií, přispěli mnozí, nejčastěji jsou však citováni autoři a autorky jako Foucault, Butler, Sedgwick, Derrida, Kristeva, Lacan, Freud a další. Do geografie jejich myšlení začalo pronikat převážně od počátku 90. let 20. století.

Na základě těchto teoretických přístupů je možné uvažovat o samotné heteronormativitě jako o společenské struktuře závislé na své (re)produkci či (re)konstrukci jednotlivci. Heteronormativita je norma, která je součástí preteoretickeho obecného vědění, a je proto u každého člověka automaticky předpokládaná (Sherry 2004). Důsledkem této situace je obecná neviditelnost neheterosexuálních identit, protože vědění s nimi spojené není součástí obecného, ale specifického (třebaže preteoretického) vědění. V procesu (primární socializace) dítěte dochází k socializaci automaticky předpokládající heterosexualitu. U určitého procenta neheterosexuálů tak dochází k internalizaci heteronormativní identity a celého „balíčku vědění“ spojeného s předpokládanou heterosexualitou. Vlastní koexistenci institucí heterosexuality a homosexuality Berger s Luckmannem (1999: 66) nepovažují za problém. Jejich vztah ovšem nabývá na problematičnosti právě v situaci „všudypřítomného“ automatického předpokladu heterosexuality ze strany společnosti, který má důsledky na vývoj identity člověka. Neheterosexuální identity (např. homosexuál, gay, lesba či bisexuál) jsou ve společnosti považované za stigmatizované (Goffman 2003), v rámci heteronormativity zneviditelňované či umlčované (Burgess 2005). Toto umlčování je možné odvodit i z postřehu Bergera a Luckmana, ve kterém připomínají důležitost konverzace pro udržování reality, tu zde můžeme chápat i jako performativitu. „Subjektivní realita něčeho, o čem se nemluví, se stává mlhavou“ (Berger, Luckmann 1999: 151). Není snad třeba dokládat aktuální realitu v Česku, kde „konverzaci“ o homosexualitě rodiče ani škola příliš času nevěnují. V heteronormativním kontextu je proto neheterosexualitu potřeba neustále potvrzovat a tím se diskreditovat (Foucault 1978) či přijímat stigma (Goffman 2003) ať slovním prohlášením (např. „jsem gay“) či jednáním (např. „polibek muže s mužem“). Zde již narážím na nutnost problematizovat samotné uvažování o sexuálních identitách a především kriticky rozpracovat populární myšlenku procesu coming outu.

Neheterosexuální identita a její vyjednávání

Sexuální identitu člověka výzkumníci tradičně považují za jednorozměrnou (Meyer, Ouellette 2009; Verni 2009: 69). Specificky to platí v kontextu klasických lineárních modelů vývoje sexuální identity, které klasifikují veřejné odhalení sexuální identity, tzv. coming out, jako zdlouhavý, avšak lineární, psychologický proces, jehož úspěšné zakončení je společensky „zdravé“ a žádané (Verni 2009). Klasicky je coming out definován jako „kognitivně behaviorální proces rozpoznání vlastní atypické citové a sexuální náklonnosti a jejího následného osvojení a integrace do systému sebepojetí. Jeho průběh je velmi individuální jak z hlediska trvání, tak možné konfliktnosti“ (Procházka 2001 in Polášková 2009: 22). Další klasickou definicí je „proces postupného hledání a uvědomování si vlastní sexuality, který vyvrcholí tím, že si člověk svou sexuální orientaci pojmenuje (tím ji do značné míry přijme a sdělí ji svému nejbližšímu okolí)“ (Smetáčková, Braun 2009: 21). V této práci se proto pokusím tento lineární pohled kriticky přehodnotit a předložit model kontextuálně sociální, prostorově a časově vyjednávané[4] neheterosexuální identity, který dokreslím předložením výsledků svého výzkumného šetření.

Nelinearitu a kontextualitu (nehetero)sexuálních identit dokládá rozsáhlá oblast výzkumu upozorňujícího na potřebu fluidnějšího a plastičtějšího chápání sexuálních identit, které samozřejmě souvisejí s rozvojem queer teorie. Coming out tak zde chápu jen jako „výrok“, který by byl nepotřebný, pokud by neheterosexuální identita viditelně označovala těla svých nositelů, tak tomu ale není (Longhurst 1995). Coming out dává smysl jen v heteronormativním kontextu a nikdy ho nelze završit (Adams 2010).

Lze rozlišit alespoň dva hlavní koncepty, ve kterých autoři představili metafory popisující situaci interakční kontextuality sexuální identity. První koncept vychází z kritického přehodnocení (ne)linearity procesu coming outu, ten je nazván podle známého anglického rčení „coming out of the closet“, tedy volně přeloženo „vycházení ze skříně“. Fenomén kontextuálního vyjednávání (kde, kdy a za jakých okolností je osoba „venku ze skříně“) se v těchto pracích popisuje termínem „closetovanost“ (Sedgwick 1990; Betsky 1997), česky tedy možná „zaskříňovanost“, v geografickém kontextu se často setkáváme s termínem „zaskříňovaný prostor“ (*closeted space*) (Brown 2000). Tento koncept je v geografii sexualit značně oblíbený, protože umožňuje mapovat prostory a místa, v rámci kterých neheterosexuální lidé dočasně své „skříně“ opouštějí, a kde se naopak v důsledku nejrůznějších faktorů, jako diskriminace či strach, ve svých „skříních“ drží. G. Valentine (1993) se například zaměřila na studium vyjednávání lesbických identit a identifikovala vícero nejrůznějších identit, které ženy vyjednávaly v rámci nejrůznějších prostorů, ať už se jednalo o domov, nákupní centrum či pracoviště. Tyto identity byly vždy v různé míře „otevřené či neheterosexuální“. Zde se již blížím k druhému konceptu, který s metaforou zaskříňovanosti poměrně úzce souvisí a je nazýván termínem *passing*. *Passing* je do češtiny možné přeložit jen obtížně jako „proplouvání či procházení“ (jako heterosexuál apod.). Oba koncepty – zaskříňovanost i proplouvání (*passing*) – jsou si velmi podobné a vztahují se k popisu vícerozměrných, mnohoznačných, relačních a fluidních sexuálních identit. Proplouvání (*passing*) „je strategie ztvárňování své identity (*identity enactment*) jako identity, ke které se osoba jinak aktivně nehlásí“ (Verni 2009: 67). Jedná se o celou škálu typů jednání využívaných jednotlivci jako prostředků k proplouvání v kontextech, kde by jinak byli vystaveni riziku stigmatizace. Autoři popisují jak záměrné, tak nezáměrné varianty proplouvání v kontextech identit rasových, sexuálních, genderových, akademických či jiných (Barreto et al. 2006; Reid 2007; Torres 2007). Forem proplouvání je celá škála od aktivních až po zcela pasivní, jsou ale vždy závislé na interpersonálních dynamikách a specifických sociálních, prostorových či časových kontextech (viz schéma 1). Proplouvání ale nelze považovat pouze za záměrné či vědomé jednání, často je totiž probíráno ve svých nevědomých kontextech, kdy v rámci obrany vůči stigmatu jednotlivci podvědomě „potlačují části sebe samých“ (Linton 2006: 166). V Goffmanových metaforách by proplouvání mohlo být interpretováno jako manipulace v rámci dramatického aktu předního regionu jednotlivce či skupiny (Goffman 1999). Proplouvání (*passing*) zde ale chápu v queer teoretickém smyslu, tedy i psychoanalyticky, a neuvažuji o tomto jednání jen jako o záměrném „managementu dojmů“ nebo o nějaké racionální, vědomé praktice. Autoři se shodují na tom, že fenomén proplouvání má kontextuální charakter, a je tedy závislý na sociálním, geografickém, časovém i psychologickém kontextu. Zájem o pochopení této kontextuality byl ústředním motivem pro tuto práci.

Mezi nejčastější motivy spojované s proplouváním patří: 1. vystříhání se diskriminace a zajištění obecného bezpečí, 2. zakrytí stigmatizované identity, 3. aktivní klamání, 4. dosažení výhod určených pouze dominantním skupinám, včetně společenského přijetí a pocty (Adams 2010; Barreto et al. 2006; Reid 2007; Torres 2007; Verni 2009). Proplouvání je tedy úzce propojeno se subjektivním pocitem komfortu (viz dále). R. Verni (2009) v rámci svého kvalitativního výzkumu prokázala, že s praktikováním proplouvání se pojí jak negativní emoce, např. rozmrzelost, frustrace (spojené s pocitem neviditelnosti), zlost (např. v důsledku nutnosti „proplouvat“), pocit odcizení, strach, izolovanost (např. v důsledku vyloučení z homosexuální komunity), tak i emoce pozitivní jako pocit bezpečí, privilegovanosti, naděje kariérního růstu, zachování autonomie či vědomá možnost manipulovat či záměrně mást okolí spojovaná s pocitem zmocnění, kdy se zdrojem moci stává vědění o vlastní skryté identitě (Verni 2009: 74).

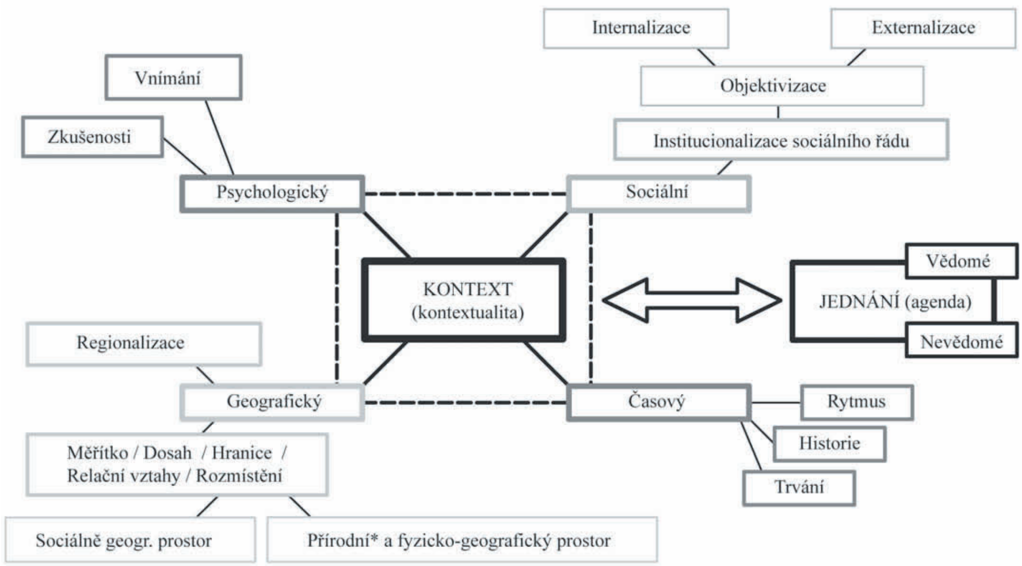
Jak již bylo řečeno, neheterosexuálně identifikovaný člověk je v heteronormativním kontextu neviditelný, „nevyoutuje-li“ se dočasně, neopustí-li „skříň“ nebo nepřestane-li ve vztahu k lidem kolem sebe proplouvat jako heterosexuál.

> Skříň (closet) v naší kultuře není funkcí homosexuality, ale povinné a předpokládané heterosexuality. Můžu být veřejně identifikován jako gay, ale aby byla má identita uznána, musím ji deklarovat při každé nové příležitosti. (Crimp 1993: 305)

V populární kultuře (či v obecném vědění) ale samozřejmě o neheterosexuálních identitách koluje „vědění“ o tom, jak poznat neheterosexuála, o „charakteristikách homosexuálů“, ty jsou však často založeny na stereotypech, na základě kterých je možné identifikovat možná jen zlomek skutečně neheterosexuálně se identifikujících osob. Existence fenoménu proplouvání (*passingu*) dokáže narušit hranice kolem zdánlivě pevné identity či skupinové příslušnosti a vědění o možnosti jednotlivců „navlékat legitimnější“ identity tak podkopává „zdánlivě stabilní“ sociální kategorie či identity, včetně těch „heterosexuálních“. To může u „ochránců sociálních hranic“ vyvolávat „úzkost a strach“ (Verni 2009: 68). Proplouvání tak zpochybňuje platnost obecně uznávaných znaků stigmatizovaných identit (např. femininity u gayů), čímž rozmazává hraniční čáry mezi těmi, jež jsou ve společnosti privilegovaní, a těmi, jež jsou ignorováni či znehodnocováni (Torres 2007; Adams 2010).

Vysvětlováním mechanismů interakcí a chování jednotlivců v prostředí se zabývá nejrůznější škála oborů včetně behaviorální geografie, geografie strachu, environmentální psychologie či sociální ekologie. Často ale bývá v rámci těchto přístupů opomíjen psychoanalytický rozměr lidského jednání, který by ale v práci ovlivněné queer teorií neměl být opomenut. Diskuse o zainteresovaných podvědomých, kognitivních či metakognitivních procesech by již představovala odlišný článek. Domnívám se ale, že na základě předcházející teoretické diskuse lze obhájit, že jedinci vnímají a interagují v rozdílných prostorech v závislosti na interakčním kontextu, jenž je ovlivněn sociálními, geografickými, časovými i psychologickými faktory (schéma 1). Jedincova interakce je tak podmíněna podobně jako v rámci Giddensovy regionalizace (Giddens 1984: 124) nebo Goffmanových „předních“ a „zadních regionů“, není ale vždy ovlivněna vědomě a poznatelně. V některých prostorech či místech se proto mohou lidé v důsledku své sexuální diference „stát sami sebou“ pravděpodobněji než v jiných. Na základě této argumentace se tak domnívám, že i heteronormativita je vnímána kontextuálně, a lze tudíž hovořit o různě vnímané heteronormativitě prostorů.

Schéma 1: Kontextualita lidského jednání.



Zdroj: Vlastní.
Poznámka: Přírodním prostorem jsou zde chápány i determinované přírodní, biologické možnosti těla jako mikroprostoru člověka, patří sem tedy i limitující faktory lidského těla.

> Prostor není prázdnou dimenzí, ve které se sociální formace stanou strukturovanými, právě naopak, o prostoru musí být uvažováno ve vztahu ke své účasti v ustavování interakčních systémů… nejsou žádné logické či metodologické rozdílnosti mezi humánní (sociální) geografií a sociologií! (Giddens 1984: 368, volně přeloženo, závorka přidaná)

Na základě tohoto komplikovaného teoretického pozadí jsem se pokusil experimentálně „změřit" vnímanou heteronormativitu ve vybraných „typických, každodenních" prostorech a stanovit, jak neheterosexuálové vnímají heteronormativitu těchto prostorů. Ve kterých prostorech jsou projevy neheterosexuality pravděpodobnější a ve kterých prostorech se neheterosexuální lidé cítí pohodlněji? A které kontextuální faktory k tomu přispívají? Které prostory jsou více queer, tedy méně sexuálně normativní? Dochází např. v „gay prostorech" k dekonstrukci a destabilizaci heteronormativity, nebo pouze k (re)definování nové normy, a jsou tedy např. „homonormativní"? Na tyto otázky odpovím v další části.

Měření vnímané heteronormativity prostorů

V rámci tohoto výzkumu jsem se přiklonil ke kvantitativní metodologii, k internetovému dotazníkovému šetření. Domnívám se, že kvantitativní metody mají potenciál i pro měření fenoménů tak obtížně operacionalizovatelných, jako je heteronormativita. V anglo-americkém akademickém prostředí lze v současnosti zaznamenat poměrně zajímavou diskusi ohledně trvající hodnoty kvantifikace (Brown 2007, 2008; Browne, Nash 2010). Z těchto důvodu jsem přesvědčen, že odmítání kvantitativních metod v rámci queer teoretického přístupu by vedlo k produkci nekritického a dualistického vědění místo plodného přispění k metodologické komplementaritě kvalitativních a kvantitativních přístupů.

Dotazník byl zaměřen výlučně na neheterosexuální lidi. Metodologicky je takový výběr problematický, protože jde o tzv. skrytou populaci, pro kterou není dostupný výběrový rámec (Marpsat, Razafindratsima 2010), a protože sexualitu nelze objektivně měřit[5] (Jenkins 2010), nelze náhodně vybírat respondenty z populace. Tento problém je v rámci výzkumů neheterosexualit známý (Browne 2005), a proto jsem se přiklonil k nejčastěji užívané výběrové metodě, sněhové kouli (výběr nabalováním) v kombinaci s metodou samovýběru (Reichl 2009). Pro výzkumy skrytých populací je metoda sněhové koule vhodná, protože využívá vzájemné síťové propojenosti jednotlivců v populaci (Heckathorn 1997), která je navíc poněkud vyšší u neheterosexuálů (Tuten 2006).

V kombinaci metody sněhové koule jsem ještě kontaktoval 30 administrátorů/rek neheterosexuálně orientovaných komunitních webů[6] a požádal je o vyvěšení grafického inzerátu mého dotazníkového šetření na jejich stránky. Při šíření dotazníku mi rovněž pomohlo „queer sdružení" UK Charlie o.s. Každý elektronický dotazník zahrnoval prosbu o šíření mezi dalšími neheterosexuály, čímž jsem aktivoval další nabalování a pokoušel se proniknout do co největší-ho počtu sociálních sítí a omezil jsem určité nepravděpodobnostní výběrové zkreslení (Baltar, Brunet 2012). Zcela reprezentativního vzorku dosáhnout pravděpodobně nelze, proto i v rámci tohoto výzkumu je možné odvozovat na skutečnou skrytou celkovou populaci neheterosexuálů jen omezeně. Strategii šíření dotazníku jsem věnoval značnou pozornost, aby bylo dosaženo co největší diverzity výsledného vzorku, který nakonec dosahoval počtu N=1 589 neheterosexuálních osob.

V teoretické části jsem vysvětlil, že stigmatizovaná není heterosexuální, ale neheterosexuální identita. Existuje nespočet geografických a příbuzných sociálních výzkumů prokazujících opresivní nastavení veřejného (často i soukromého) prostoru vůči neheterosexuálům, v rámci heteronormativního řádu, a naopak potvrzujících automatičnost, relativní bezproblémovost a privilegovanost heterosexuality (Bell, Valentine 1995; Duncan 1996). Projev heterosexuality není v heteronormativní společnosti mnohdy ani za sexuální považován (Valentine 1993), věřím, že mnozí heterosexuální čtenáři a čtenářky z vlastních zkušeností potvrdí, že před tím či v průběhu toho, co své partnerky či partnery drží za ruce, dotýkají se jich, líbají je či jim jen věnují upřímný pohled, neuvažují o tom, zda jejich jednání vyvolá nesouhlasné pohledy, civění, šuškání, hlasitý odpor, či dokonce fyzickou agresi (Duncan 1996). Tyto reakce jsou však častou nekomfortní, stigmatizovanou realitou, se kterou se setkává značné množství neheterosexuálů. S takovou realitou se tedy setkává mnoho neheterosexuálů, kteří zrovna neproplouvají jako heterosexuálové či nepřenášejí svou „skříň“, do které by svou pravou sexuální identitu „uzavřeli“. Neheterosexuální lidé tedy své identity vyjednávají v závislosti na kontextuálních faktorech ovlivňujících jejich interakci (schéma 1). V rámci svého šetření jsem se zaměřil na vyjednávání sexuální interakce, kterou lze vzhledem k diskusi o proplouvání a zaskříňovanosti spojovat s konceptem sexuálního komfortu.

Aby tedy bylo možné vnímanou heteronormativitu v kontextu nejrůznějších prostorů změřit, rozhodl jsem se využít v geografii nepříliš častou vizuální metodologii, práci s fotografiemi, při které jsem se zaměřil na kvantitativní hodnocení kontextuality a reprezentací vázaných k těmto prostorům (Rose 2001). Do výzkumu jsem zařadil 19 odlišných fotografií zobrazujících nejrůznější veřejné či poloveřejné prostory, které jsou v miniaturách zobrazené na obrázku 1. V těchto prostorech se lidé mohou běžně vyskytnout ve svém každodenním životě. Většina fotografií byla vybrána z důvodu jejich relevance v oblasti výzkumu geografií sexualit, které byly studiu interakcí v těchto prostorech již věnovány (Valentine 1993; Binnie 1995; Matejskova 2007 aj.). Všech 19 fotografií jsem vybíral s náležitou opatrností, aby reprezentovaly co nejrozmanitější soubor veřejných, poloveřejných městských, ale i jiných prostorů. Prostor, který často bývá s vyjednáváním neheterosexuálních identit spojován, prostor pracoviště, jsem do výzkumu nezařadil, protože se domnívám, že jeho reprezentace na fotografii z důvodu příliš vysoké diverzity možných variant pracovišť není možná. Konkrétně vybrané fotografie probírám v rámci diskuse o výsledcích. Fotografie byly respondentům postupně zvlášť zobrazeny ve vysokém rozlišení, tak aby jimi měli vyplněnu téměř celou obrazovku monitoru. To mělo zprostředkovat představu daného prostoru.

Respondenti měli k dispozici k hodnocení dvě desetistupňové škály (sémantické diferenciály). Na první škále šlo o zhodnocení vlastního relativního stupně sexuálního komfortu[7] (pohodlí/uspokojení), pro každého jedince jedinečného pocitu, individuální potřeby, který by eventuálně pociťovali v zobrazeném prostoru či místě. Respondenti se tedy měli „ponořit do situace“ a ohodnotit stupeň svého relativního sexuálního komfortu, resp. míry náklonnosti, kterou by v daném prostoru ke svému (alespoň představovanému) partnerovi/partnerce projevovali. Pokud respondenti neměli zkušenosti s partnerským vztahem nebo v něm nebyli, požádal jsem je, aby si přibližnou situaci alespoň představili. Na tomto místě je zajímavé pojetí sexuálního komfortu od R. Holliday (1999):

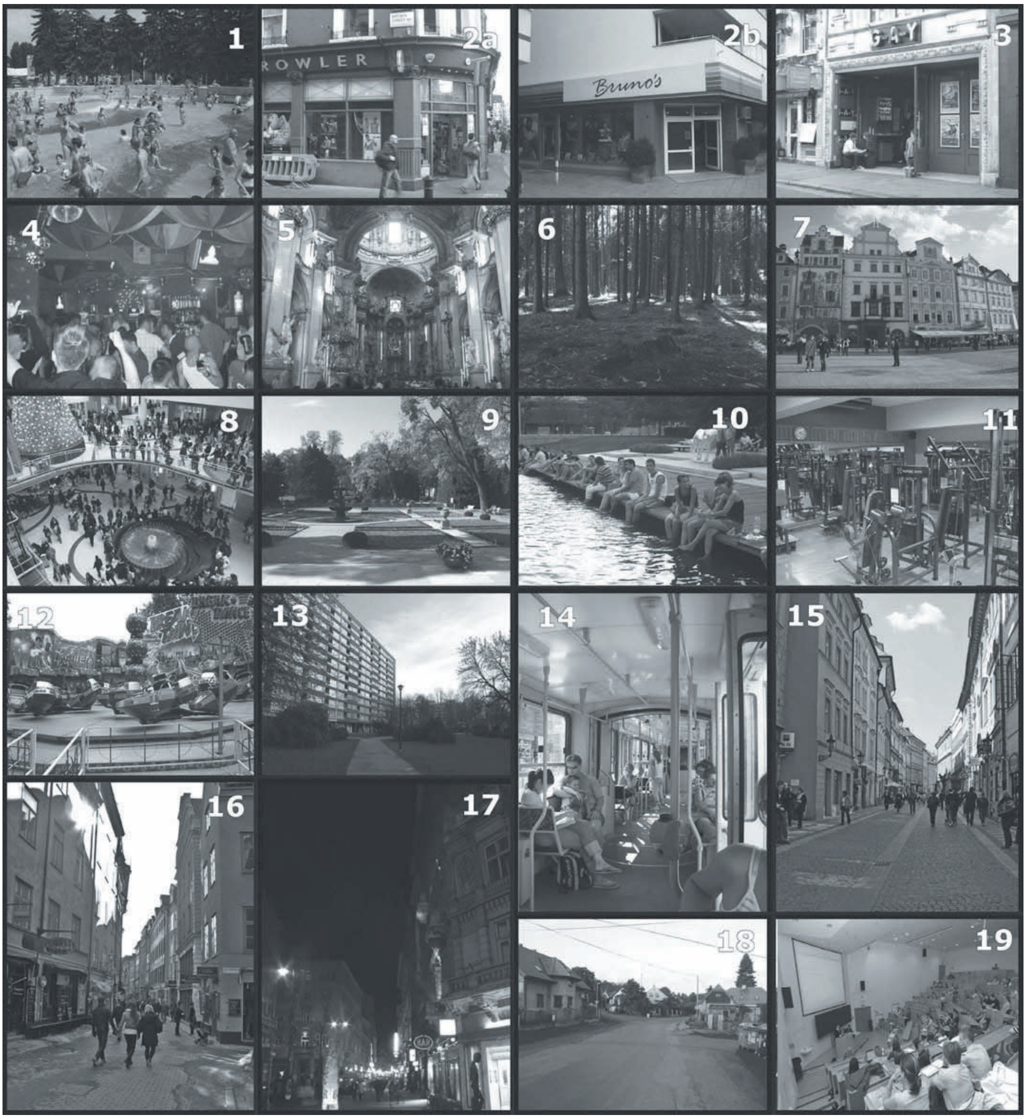
> Komfort znamená … vnější vyjadřování toho, co jedinec cítí uvnitř. Jinými slovy, existuje touha uzavřít mezeru mezi performancí (jednáním) a ontologií (bytím), touha být přítomen (self-present) nejen sobě, ale i pro ostatní. Komfort je v tomto případě odvozen od bytí „rozlišitelně“ queer vůči oběma, sobě samému a vzhledem k ostatním. (Holliday 1999: 485, volně přeloženo)

Druhá škála měla sloužit ke změření stupně subjektivního vnímání diference v možnosti relativně se sexuálně uvolnit a být sám sebou a k tomu, jak situaci respondent vnímá u své pomyslné představy „běžného heterosexuála“. Nepokoušel jsem se tedy z pohledu neheterosexuálů měřit stupeň komfortu „běžných heterosexuálů“, to by nebylo možné, protože nic jako „běžný heterosexuál“ neexistuje, měřil jsem pouze subjektivní pocit vnímané rozdílnosti mezi svou neheterosexuální a „pomyslnou heterosexuální“ pozicí, čili pocit, který je pro každého jedince jedinečný. Jinými slovy, narážím zde na fenomén proplouvání a zaskříňovanosti, kdy neheterosexuální jednotlivec má možnost proplouvat jako heterosexuál. Rozdíl v naměřených hodnotách na škále první a druhé jsem pak využil ke stanovení *indexu vnímané heteronormativity prostoru* (I_{HP}). Domnívám se, že tento index kvantitativně zachycuje (operacionalizuje) nejen vnímanou heteronormativitu prostoru, ale i specifický potenciál pro opuštění „skříně“ a pravděpodobnější vyjednávání své autentické neheterosexuální identity.

Úvahy o výsledcích šetření

Užitá metodologie byla poněkud komplikovaná, ale protože jsem se s kvantitativním studiem kontextuality vyjednávání neheterosexuální identity prozatím nesetkal, poskytla do této problematiky nový vhled. Nejprve krátce přiblížím charakteristiku výběrového vzorku.

Obrázek 1: *Soubor vybraných fotografií ve výzkumu.*



Zdroj: Autorovy fotografie.

Šetření proběhlo mezi únorem a květnem roku 2011 a ve výsledném výběrovém souboru (N=1 589) převážil 74% podíl gayů (N=1 178) oproti 15 % leseb (N=241), 7 % bisexuálních mužů (N=104), 3 % bisexuálních žen (N=52) a 1 % jinak se identifikujících osob (N=14). Věkové složení respondentů bylo následovné: 119 osob (7,5 %) do 18 let, 668 osob (42 %) ve věku 19–25 let, 517 osob (32,5 %) ve věku 26–35 let, 191 osob (12 %) ve věku 36–45 let, 66 osob (4,2 %) ve věku 46–55 let a 28 osob (1,8 %) bylo starších 56 let. Je pravděpodobné, že poněkud nižší věkový průměr (modus 21 let, medián 26 let a aritmetický průměr 28,1 let) výběrového souboru byl zapříčiněn použitou internetovou metodologií. Vzhledem k nenormálnímu rozložení ve věkových skupinách jsem k ověření signifikance věkových rozdílů mezi jednotlivými skupinami respondentů použil neparametrickou alternativu k jednostranné analýze variance (ANOVA), Kruskall-Wallisův test, který nevyžaduje normální rozložení dat. Výsledkem testování (na hladině signifikance 0,05) bylo prokázání statisticky signifikantních věkových rozdílů u následujících dvojic, (+) značí sig. starší, (-) sig. mladší: bi-muži (+) × bi-ženy (-), bi-ženy (-) × gayové (+), bi-ženy (-) × lesby (+) a gayové (+) × lesby (-). Charakteristika výsledného výběrového souboru sice není zcela reprezentativní, domnívám se ale, že vzhledem k robustnosti vzorku (N = 1 589) značnou, byť ne zcela neomezenou, vypovídající hodnotu má.

Nyní tedy již přejdu k interpretaci výsledných hodnot indexů heteronormativity prostorů (dále I_{HP}) a výběru vybraných fotografií. Výsledné hodnoty I_{HP} jednotlivých zařazených prostorů jsem pro interpretaci rozdělil do skupiny pozitivně (plusově), negativně (minusově) a neutrálně (blízce nule) hodnocených fotografií. Výsledky I_{HP} jsou pro každou fotografii a skupinu respondentů zobrazeny přehledně v tabulce 1, kde jsem je podle svého subjektivního názoru pojmenoval, uvedl jsem u nich ale čísla, na základě kterých je lze dohledat podle obrázku 1 a 2.

Skupina fotografií s pozitivním I_{HP}

Plusové hodnoty I_{HP} značí situaci, kdy většina respondentů svůj vlastní relativní (nehetero)sexuální komfort považovala za vyšší než ten, který předpokládala pro „běžné heterosexuály". Dalo by se tedy hovořit o „homonormativitě" těchto prostorů, ve kterých se naopak heterosexuálně identifikovaní mohou střetávat s automatickým předpokladem „ neheterosexuality", dokud se „nevyoutují" jako heterosexuální (Adams 2010: 234). Pozitivní hodnoty získaly pouze tři fotografie prostorů, které lze s výhradami nazvat „gay městské prostory". Většina geografů sexuality spojuje městské prostory vyhraněné pro socializaci neheterosexuálů, především gayů a leseb (např. gay bary, kluby či kavárny), za prostory aktivně sexualizované, kdy jim je především v důsledku kapitalistické produkce diskursivních významů, nejčastěji prostřednictvím médií, produkce symbolů, hodnot, služeb atd., přisuzována „homosexuální" autentičnost (Binnie 1995). V této souvislosti je mnohdy skloňována tzv. komodifikace gay kultury a tzv. růžová ekonomika (Binnie, Skeggs 2004). Na základě těchto skutečností se domnívám, že jsou všechny tyto prostory prostoupeny věděním založeným na „homosexuální" či „neheterosexuální" institucionalizaci. L. Moran et al. (2001) pak poukazuje na zajímavé zjištění, že „gay prostory" jsou od „heterosexuálních" vždy odděleny hranicemi, které mají komplexní charakter s relativně stabilní geografickou či symbolickou pozicí, jakoby „vždy na okraji". Popisují dveřníky, vyhazovače, hesla, souhlasy s podmínkami, VIP karty, klíče či jiné způsoby vnímání hranic zapsané ve způsobech tance, pohledech či v tématech hovoru (Moran et al. 2001: 414–415). Při překračování hranice mezi heterosexuálním prostorem a identifikovatelně „gay prostorem" podle G. Valentine (1993: 244) vždy existuje riziko odhalení, tím zdůvodňuje, proč tyto „formální gay prostory" lesby příliš nevyhledávají, ale raději se socializují (ve smyslu setkávání se) v soukromí. Výlučně „lesbické podniky" jsou v důsledku ekonomické pozice žen jen obtížně udržitelné, což potvrzují mnohé výzkumy zabývající se studiem lesbického prostoru (Duncan 1996; Valentine 1993) i prostá každodenní zkušenost. Z těchto důvodu jsem fotografie výlučně lesbických prostorů do výzkumu nezařadil.

První fotografie (č. 3) ze skupiny pozitivně hodnocených zobrazovala prostor „gay kavárny" v Londýně, viditelně identifikované jako neheterosexuální, jak velkým nápisem G-A-Y, tak i performativně[8], dvěma muži, kteří seděli venku a zřetelně si navzájem projevovali náklonnost. Tento prostor získal nejvyšší pozitivní hodnotu, tedy I_{HP} = 3,14. Zahraniční prostor jsem vybral, protože jsem nenašel v rámci svého hledání žádný natolik explicitně neheterosexuálně reprezentovaný prostor v regionu Česka. Z výsledku I_{HP} tohoto prostoru je možné vyvodit, že by v tomto kontextu respondenti s největší pravděpodobností „opustili své skříně" nebo „zaujali" neheterosexuální identity, a to buď záměrně, či bezděčně. Další fotografie (č. 4) reprezentující „gay prostor" byla pořízena uvnitř v současnosti již neexistujícího pražského gay klubu Valentino (I_{HP} = 3,01) během rušné taneční akce.[9] Interiér zde byl zřetelně vyzdoben duhovými barvami, které jsou mediálně stále zřetelnějšími reprezentacemi neheterosexuálních významů, během svého výzkumu jsem se nesetkal s žádnou neheterosexuální osobou, která by tuto reprezentaci duhy neznala. Třetí fotografie (č. 2ab) zobrazovala dva „gay/lesbické obchody" (jeden v Berlíně a druhý v Londýně), které byly rovněž viditelně zdobené pestrobarevnou symbolikou, zobrazovaly navíc i viditelně obrazy mužské nahoty, popř. stejnopohlavní náklonnosti (I_{HP} = 1,6), jak je vidět, tyto explicitní sexuální reprezentace k většímu komfortu nijak významně nepřispěly.

Na základě těchto kvantitativních výsledků či neformálních diskusí, kterých jsem se účastnil, bych dále jen spekuloval, zda v prostorech, kde „dominují" neheterosexuálové, skuteční „heterosexuálně se identifikující lidé" opravdu pociťují omezení či rozpačitost spojenou s (re)produkcí normy, která omezuje heterosexuální komfort. Neheterosexuální respondenti to však v rámci vyjednávání vlastních identit předpokládají, proto tato problematika potřebuje další výzkumy zaměřené na heterosexuály, které by mohly tuto otázku zodpovědět.

Skupina fotografií s negativním I_{HP}

Protože jsou podle mnoha autorů každodenní městské prostory neheterosexuálními lidmi prožívány jako agresivně heterosexuální (Namaste 1996; Valentine 1993; Hubbard 2001: 55), nebylo velkým překvapením, že většina fotografií získala negativní (minusové) hodnoty I_{HP}. Ty upozorňují na různě vysokou míru vnímané heteronormativity závislé na kontextech těchto prostorů. Zajímavě rozdílné hodnocení získal soubor tří nepříliš rozdílných fotografií (obrázek 2) zachycujících z geografického hlediska ekvivalentní prostor velmi podobných pěších zón ve městech Praha, Budapešť a Stockholm (č. 15, 17 a 16), zobrazené na obrázku 2.

Obrázek 2: *Fotografie pěších zón v Praze, Budapešti a Stockholmu (foto č. 15, 17 a 16).*

Zdroj: Vlastní.

Odkud doopravdy fotografie pocházely, by pravděpodobně rozeznal pouze znalec. Tři zcela odlišné oblasti jsou zde proto, že jsem chtěl eliminovat možné citové zabarvení či potenciální náklonnost k místu ve smyslu pocitu místa (*sense of place*), která byla popsána např. v humanistické geografii (Tuan 2001). Fotografie z Prahy byla pořízena ve dne, fotografie z Budapešti v noci a ta ze Stockholmu byla pořízena ve dne. Byl zde však přítomný malý rozpoznatelný symbol duhové vlajky, který visel na jedné z budov. Takto označenou vnitroměstskou ulici jsem v Česku v době zpracování výzkumu nenašel. G. Valentine (1993) při zkoumání vyjednávání neheterosexuální identity upozornila na vliv času a denní doby (tmy). Zájem o kvantitativní ověření byl tedy nasnadě. Tma obecně ve veřejném prostoru zvyšuje míru anonymity, důležitého prvku neheterosexuální přítomnosti (Brown 2000). Městský prostor je pak za značně anonymní považován již klasicky (Hubbard 2006). Značné rozdíly v naměřených hodnotách I_{HP} pěších zón nebyly proto překvapivé. Ulice zobrazená ve dne (Praha) získala I_{HP} = -1,75 a ulice v noci (Budapešť) získala I_{HP} = -1,17. Tma byla hodnocena jako poměrně významný faktor, nikoliv však jako faktor natolik významný jako symbolický význam duhové vlajky, protože výsledná hodnota pro fotografii se symbolem (Stockholm) má I_{HP} = -0,46. To jen potvrzuje, že symbolika s institucionalizovaným neheterosexuálním významem má značný vliv na vyjednávání neheterosexuální identity a v podstatě symbolicky napomáhá neutralizovat vnímanou heteronormativitu prostoru v kontextu svého působení. Je však diskutabilní, zda tato symbolika reprezentuje významy skutečně destabilizující všechny sexuální normy a zda se jedná o „antinormativní“ (queer) symboliku, nebo jde jen o jinak normativní, zde o homonormativní symboliku. Na základě dat z tohoto výzkumu nemohu poskytnout jednoznačný závěr v této otázce. Z pohledu neheterosexuálů se ale jednalo o druhý nejneutrálnější prostor. Pokud „queer/gay/LGBT/duhová“ symbolika hraje důležitou roli pro vnímání heteronormativity, pak zajisté hraje značnou roli i v ovlivňování „prostoru skříně“ (Sedgwick 1990; Brown 2000). Další otázka zůstává nezodpovězena – zda tato symbolika bude stále efektivní, bude-li její význam známý (čitelný) i heterosexuální populaci, protože podle Valentine tyto „sotva postřehnutelné značky jinakosti nejsou čteny a chápány heterosexuálním publikem“ (Valentine 1996: 152).

Všechny ostatní fotografie ve výzkumu, kromě jedné, které se věnuji na konci, získaly negativní hodnocení. Pozastavím se ale ještě u fotografie koupaliště (č. 1), která získala nejnižší hodnotu, tedy I_{HP} = -3,12. Respondenti zde předpokládali nejnižší hodnotu svého sexuálního komfortu a pociťovali největší rozdíl ve vyjednávání „neheterosexuálních“ a „heterosexuálních identit“. Tento výsledek není zcela překvapivý, protože prostor koupaliště je obecně považován za heterosexuální, dokud není za neheterosexuální označen, obdobný argument jsem rovněž rozebíral v rámci kritiky coming outu a představení plastičtějších konceptů identit, jako jsou zaskříňovanost (*closet*) či proplouvání (*passing*). Na koupališti je téměř nemožné interagovat kompletně jako neheterosexuál. Pravděpodobně opačná situace by nastala, kdyby se jednalo o prostor „gay či lesbického koupaliště“, které by takto bylo zřetelně ohraničeno a symbolicky označeno, to by však byl jen příklad prostorové segregace. V prostoru heteronormativního koupaliště existuje tedy nejvyšší pravděpodobnost toho, že neheterosexuální osoba zůstane ve své „skříni“ a většina dalších neznámých osob (bez ohledu na jejich vlastní sexualitu) bude automaticky předpokládat heterosexualitu osoby. Kontext velkého počtu dohlížejících, kteří se primárně socializovali v rámci heteronormativity (v dětství internalizovali např.

Tabulka 1: *Podrobné výsledky indexů heteronormativity prostorů.*

Modelový prostor	I_{HP} **průměr**	**Lesby (241)**	**Gayové (1178)**	**Bi-ženy (52)**	**Bi-muži (104)**	**„Jinací" (14)**
Queer kavárna (3)	3,14	3,47	3,08	3,58	2,86	1,93
Gay klub (4)	3,01	3,3	3,03	2,58	2,52	0,57
Queer nároží (2ab)	1,6	1,53	1,67	1,42	0,95	1,79
Les (6)	0,04	0,02	0,04	0,17	0,07	0
Ulice město (symbol) (16)	-0,46	-0,17	-0,5	-0,29	-0,69	-0,57
Prázdný park (9)	-0,82	-0,74	-0,85	-0,52	-0,79	-0,93
Kostel (5)	-0,98	-1,26	-0,93	-0,62	-1,11	-0,64
Ulice město (noc) (17)	-1,17	-0,86	-1,25	-0,79	-1,16	-0,93
Přednáškový sál (19)	-1,39	-1,79	-1,33	-0,98	-1,35	-0,71
Panelák (13)	-1,63	-1,61	-1,65	-1,35	-1,6	-1,57
Náměstí (7)	-1,67	-1,81	-1,67	-1,29	-1,56	-1,21
Ulice město (den) (15)	-1,75	-1,87	-1,75	-1,52	-1,56	-1,21
Pouť (12)	-1,85	-1,73	-1,91	-0,96	-1,76	-1,93
Obchodní centrum (8)	-1,85	-2,27	-1,77	-1,98	-1,69	-1,64
Rande plac (10)	-2,03	-2,11	-2,01	-1,62	-2,15	-2,21
Prázdná posilovna (11)	-2,03	-2,01	-2,05	-1,83	-1,88	-1,79
Tramvaj interiér (14)	-2,14	-2,48	-2,12	-1,81	-1,66	-2,14
Vesnice (18)	-2,46	-2,51	-2,5	-2,02	-2,14	-1,14
Koupaliště (1)	-3,12	-3,52	-3,06	-2,5	-3,23	-2,14

Zdroj: Vlastní data.

heterosexuální normy), tak ve Foucaltově smyslu v podstatě determinuje určitý diskomfort neheterosexuálů. Interpretaci výsledků u dalších negativně hodnocených prostorů již z důvodů omezenosti rozsahu tohoto článku vynechám, jejich hodnoty jsou však přehledně zobrazeny v tabulce 1.

Neutrální, nulový výsledek I_{HP}

Poslední typ výsledku, tedy hodnota I_{HP} oscilující kolem nuly, si rovněž zasluhuje alespoň krátkou reflexi. Nulová hodnota podle mého názoru ukazuje na indiferentní vnější kontext, tedy takový, který neupřednostňuje žádnou sexuální identitu. Institucionalizované sexuální normy v takových prostorech ale nemusejí být nepřítomné nebo neutrální. Ve významu rozebírané teorie institucionalizace P. L. Bergera a T. Luckmanna (1999) nejsou heterosexuální normy jen externalizované v reprezentacích a objektivizované v obecném a specifickém vědění, ale jsou rovněž internalizované svými nositeli, tedy vlastně všemi lidmi socializujícími se v dominantně heterosexuálních společnostech.

Příkladem prostoru, který získal téměř nulový výsledek, se stala fotografie prázdného jehličnatého lesa (č. 6) focená ve dne, čili klasický přírodní kulturní prostor. Předpokládal jsem, že prostor liduprázdného lesa neobsahuje žádné výlučné, „do reprezentací objektů v lese" externalizované, sexuálně normativní reprezentace. Chtěl jsem tak získat indikátor „přehnaných soudů", kdy za situace, že by respondenti záměrně uváděli na obou hodnotících škálách „přehnané rozdíly", bylo potřeba považovat výsledky za nespolehlivé nebo se pokusit vysvětlit případné reprezentace heteronormativního sociálního řádu v kontextu lesa.

Výsledná hodnota I_{HP} lesa = 0,04 ale prokazuje, že fotografie svou funkci indikátoru spolehlivosti měření naplnila dobře a že kontext lesa neheterosexuální respondenti nevnímají jako nijak rozlišující mezi sexualitami. Prostor liduprázdného lesa je ale poměrně často považován za sexuální a za příhodných časových a meteorologických podmínek je k tomuto účelu některými lidmi i náležitě využíván. Prostor lesa byl totiž zároveň ohodnocen jako prostor s nejvyšší mírou naplnění sexuálních potřeb respondentů (8,27 z 10 možných). Hlubší interpretace reprezentace prostoru lesa nebo srovnání s dalšími kulturními přírodními prostory (louky, háje, aj.) ale již přesahují možnosti této studie.

Závěrem

Cílem tohoto článku bylo přispět ke kulturnímu obratu v geografii a k prostorovému obratu v sociálních vědách a s nimi spojenému rozvoji interdisciplinární výměny vědění. Zaměřil jsem se tedy na nutně interdisciplinární problematiku prostorovosti a kontextuality vyjednávání lidské (nehetero)sexuality. Nejprve jsem přiblížil heteronormativitu a její institucionalizaci ve společenském řádu. Abych vysvětlil tyto komplexní a dialektické společenské procesy odehrávající se v prostoru, bylo nutné přesáhnout hranice sociální geografie a studovat významné sociálněvědní teorie.

Heteronormativita je formou obecného vědění týkající se instituce lidské sexuality. Toto vědění je platné v kulturním prostoru Česka a v různých obměnách je víceméně vzájemně srozumitelné i v dalších zemích světa. Dominance heterosexuality a heteronormativita vytvářejí automatický předpoklad, že každý je heterosexuální, vyvrátit ho lze jen dočasně či omezeně přesvědčivou demonstrací neheterosexuální identifikace. Heteronormativita stigmatizuje neheterosexuální identity, stanovuje zásady správné role heterosexuála, které musí být dodržovány v určitých interakčních řadech. Tyto interakce, v rámci kterých jedinci musí své (sexuální) identity vyjednávat, mají kontextuální charakter, závislý na nejrůznějších sociálních, geografických, psychologických či časových faktorech, které na sebe působí dialekticky. Jako všechny instituce, reprezentace, normy, významy či role i heteronormativita má svou historii a neustále se vyvíjí. Nelze ji ale nějak radikálně podvrátit. Existence záměrné i nezáměrné plynulé změny je „zabudována" v dialektickém charakteru teorie institucionalizace i v samotném mechanismu kontinuity institucí, který je závislý na jazyku a srozumitelnosti jeho významů, proto tu vždy existuje určitý (de)konstruktivní prostor. Prostorový obrat v rámci sociálních a humanitních věd umožňuje lépe chápat život lidí a nezanedbávat jeho prostorový rozměr. Geografická citlivost k hranicím, nejrůznějším vztahům napříč měřítkových úrovní a k samotné prostorovosti lidské existence může napomoci k pochopení i nesmírně složitých sociálních procesů.

Prezentované výzkumné šetření a jeho analýza byly zaměřeny na experimentální měření vnímané heteronormativity ve vybraných prostorech z perspektivy neheterosexuálů. Výsledky byly interpretovány vzhledem ke kontextualitě komfortu spojeného s vyjednávání neheterosexuální identity. V nejrůznějších veřejných a poloveřejných prostorech byla prokázána nestejná míra subjektivního komfortu spojeného s kontextuálním vyjednáváním neheterosexuální identity. V některých prostorech respondentům v rámci zachování jejich důstojnosti, bezpečí či pohodlí nezbývá než zapřít „svou neheterosexuální identitu" a projevovat se „heterosexuálně". V různých prostorech a časech jsou sexuální interakce různě kontextuální, a protože se lidská neheterosexuální identita nevyvíjí lineárně, nikdy nemůže v rámci dominantně heteronormativní společnosti definitivně završit to, co je mnohdy nazýváno coming outem.

1 589 neheterosexuálních respondentů tohoto výzkumu subjektivně vnímalo „znevýhodnění" v 15 z 19 prezentovaných typů prostorů. Robustnost vzorku sice nesupluje jeho nutně omezenou reprezentativitu, představuje však kvalitní empirický podklad, jehož výsledky může upřesnit další výzkum. Jsem přesvědčen, že se jedná o příklad úspěšného využití kvantitativní metodologie v rámci queer teorie i širšího studia prostorovosti sexuální identity. Výsledky v této práci naznačují, že „gay" bary, kluby či kavárny nejsou queer prostory a sexuální norma v nich není dekonstruována, ale pouze nahrazena sexuální normou jinou.

Argumenty formulované v této práci mohou být kompetentním způsobem využity pro implementaci nutných legislativních či kurikulárních změn, které svými potenciálními politikami, vzdělávacími dokumenty či kampaněmi přispějí ke zrovnoprávnění lidí heterosexuálních i neheterosexuálních orientací.

Zajistit rovnoprávný přístup všech lidí do všech veřejných prostorů není ale možné za situace, kdy jak neheterosexuálně, tak heterosexuálně orientovaní lidé, socializovaní v rámci sexuálně neegalitářské společnosti automaticky předpokládají, že je každý člověk heterosexuální. Zrovnoprávnit znamená zahrnout do obecného vědění, které je předmětem primární socializace, vědění s významy reprezentujícími akceptaci heterosexuálních i neheterosexuálních identit. Jsou potřeba „noví princové, kteří milují prince", „víly, jež věrně žijí s vílami" a další příběhy, vzory, hodnoty, tedy i takové sdílené preteoretické vědění, které z podstaty své existence pomůže upravit scénáře ve společnosti a přípustné role tak, aby již nebylo samozřejmé, že toho, tu či tamto, jež tam nebo jinde potkáme, budeme automaticky považovat za heterosexuální. Jenom takto je možné dekonstruovat všeobecně opresivní charakter heteronormativity vnímaný v nejrůznějších prostorových kontextech a umožnit stejnoprávný přístup všem, i těm, které nelze předem identifikovat, protože jejich jinakost nespočívá ve viditelně čitelných znacích zapsaných na povrchu jejich těl. Neheterosexualita není nepřirozená, nepřirozenou je pouze činěna.

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Poznámky

1 Tento článek byl podpořen z grantu SVV č. 244–2672031 na katedře sociální geografie a regionálního rozvoje Přírodovědecké fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze.

2 Neheterosexuály rozumím všechny lidi, kteří se neidentifikují heterosexuálně. Preferuji tento termín z důvodu, že je inkluzivní a politicky korektnější v porovnání s neustále se rozšiřujícím akronymem LGBT(IQA), který v češtině nelze snadno vyslovit a který rovněž upřednostňuje na základě pořadí písmen jedny zdánlivě fixní kategorie identit před jinými (např. L a G).

3 Výjimkou je její kniha *Gender Trouble* (1990), která vyšla ve slovenštině jako *Trampoty s rodom* (2003).

4 Z anglického slova *negotiated* (např. ve Valentine 1993).

5 Esencialistická a sociálněkonstruktivistická diskuse je na tomto poli stále poměrně živá, je ovšem potřeba připomenout, že se „esencialistům" prozatím nepodařilo „esenci homosexuality" potvrdit a navíc se jedná o potenciální etický problém (Jenkins 2010).

6 Aquamen, Bengáles, Colourplanet, eLnadruhou, gay.skupiny.org, Pratety, Honílek, STUD, Gejt, M-klub Lambda, býv. Gay iniciativa (skrze jejího člena), NetBoys.eu, iboys.cz, 004.cz, Lesba.cz, Lesbanet.cz, Kluci z Budějic, Drbna.cz, Holky v Brně, Charlie o.s., Czech Youth Queer Organisation, Galibi, Gaynet.cz, Irideus, Queerparade Tábor, Holky Zlín, Ušáčkův svět, Valach, one4one, LUI, Moravští medvědi, Rozdilnerytmy.

7 Otázka zkráceně zněla: Nejprve se na fotku pozorně podívej, zkus se do fotky „vžít", jako kdybys tam byl/a (nejlépe s partnerem nebo partnerkou). Do jaké míry by ses na místě uvolnil/a, sexuálně projevoval/a, podle své vlastní potřeby, kterou bys na místě pociťoval/a? Bodování tedy záleží na tvé vlastní potřebě … je-li zcela naplněna, ohodnotíš 10 body).

8 Domnívám, že dokud prostor není označen za neheterosexuální, ať diskursivně či jednáním, tak je podobně jako lidská sexuální identita považován za heterosexuální. Lze tedy s rezervou v podstatě hovořit o „vyoutovaných prostorech".

9 V zájmu zachování anonymity byly tváře většiny osob anonymizované.

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ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF GAY BUSINESSES AND PLACES: EVIDENCE FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION

Koessan GABIAM, Michal PITOŇÁK

Abstract

The late 20th century emergence of gay neighbourhoods and their related businesses has been examined by a number of researchers, but few have tackled this issue on a larger scale compared to case studies in a national context. This study considers the development of European gay businesses and gay non-residential places, using principal components analysis on data from the Spartacus International Gay Guide of 2007. This is an unusual quantitative approach in the largely qualitatively-dominated field of geographies of sexualities. It has identified gay commodification and gay (in)visibilities as the most likely factors of spatial diversity in observed gay places. These two identified dimensions are then analysed in terms of their linkages, specificities and regional importance. Subsequently, the interactions between economic, cultural and social factors at stake in the development of gay business and non-residential places across Europe, are evaluated.

Shrnutí

Ekonomické, kulturní a sociální faktory v pozadí rozvoje gay podniků a míst: situace v Evropské unii

Vznik gay čtvrtí a s nimi spojených gay podniků na konci 20. století byl objektem zájmu mnoha výzkumníků, ale pouze málo z nich – ve srovnání s případovými studiemi v kontextu národním – řešilo tuto otázku na úrovni celoevropské. Tato studie se zabývá rozvojem gay podniků a ne-rezidenčních míst za použití analýzy hlavních komponent aplikované na datech získaných ze Spartacus International Gay Guide 2007. Tento kvantitativní přístup je v oboru převážně kvalitativních geografií sexualit poněkud nezvyklý. Díky tomu byly identifikovány gay komodifikace a gay (ne)viditelnosti jako nejpravděpodobnější faktory vysvětlující prostorovou diverzitu zkoumaných gay míst. Tyto dva faktory jsou analyzovány z hlediska jejich spojitostí, specifik a regionální významnosti. Následně jsou hodnoceny interakce v rámci ekonomických, kulturních a sociálních faktorů působících při rozvoji gay podniků a gay ne-rezidenčních míst napříč Evropou.

Keywords: *gay businesses and places, commodification, gay (in)visibilities, European Union*

1. Introduction

Geography has evolved greatly and now spans various cultural, economic, political and societal domains, where its true potential can be recognized specifically in its ability to understand connections between these domains. As with the development of human societies, the character of geography has changed and is influenced by more and more complex interrelations. This paper is grounded in the geographies of sexualities, a geographical sub-field which developed originally in British and North American geographical academia (Brown, Knopp, 2002; Hubbard, 2001; Rose, 1995) under the larger influences of post-positivism and the 'new' cultural turn in geography from the 1970s. Later this field expanded to other countries in Western, Mediterranean and Central Europe, Australasia and Latin America. Geographies of sexualities are nowadays diverse fields of study covering issues ranging from homosexuality (Duncan, 1996; Binnie, Valentine, 1999), heterosexuality (Oswin, 2008), bisexuality (Hemmings, 2002) and transgenderism (Doan, 2007; Browne, Nash, Hines, 2010; Nash, 2010). We cannot provide a complete summary of its genealogy in the present article; however, a short introduction to the associated main concepts and cornerstones is relevant here.

The first studies associated with geographies of sexualities were set in North American urban sociology. Societal conditions after the turbulent 1960s allowed a focus on visible and material sexual urban contexts, specifically the political-economic development of so-called "gay ghettoes". These visible concentrations of both gay commercial spaces and gay residents were identified in major American cities such as New York, Chicago and San Francisco (Levine, 1979; Castells, 1983; Knopp, 1987). These studies were very descriptive, while focusing on processes such as urban renewal or gentrification and the role of gay populations and gay ghettoes in them. Any focus on lesbian geographies remained silent as their spatial dimension required more sensitive approaches to develop (Rothenberg, 1995; Johnston, Valentine, 1995). These first studies did not introduce any critical analyses beyond political-economic debates, but their main merit for later studies was that they brought the topic of sexuality (homosexuality) into the focus of academia and helped it become a new proper subject matter.

In the subsequent years in the late 1980s and 1990s, important developments of critical social theories, mostly feminist and queer theories but also the "general" postmodern and poststructuralist ways of thought, provided important background for more rigorous geographical research (Bell, Valentine, 1995; Duncan, 1996).

Power relations between people of normative (hetero) and non-normative (LGBTIQ…) sexualities started to be problematized. Previously unproblematic, heterosexual practices such as holding hands, kissing or even living together had been identified as naturalized and inherently sexual (Valentine, 1993). In contrast, these same practices in same-sex couples were automatically perceived as sexual and "peculiar". Heteronormativity, as a normative regime, was therefore suggested as a structure which was about to be academically recognized. Similarly, as feminist scholars identified normative patriarchy, sexuality and queer scholars identified heteronormativity (Pratt, 2009). Space itself was recognized as vastly sexualized and normalized under the rule of heteronormativity, where sexual-others could not safely exist and manifold exclusions were achieved by creative regulative regimes (Howell, 2009: 122). Understandably, many geographers focused on the ways and practices of social (re)production of heteronormativity, and specifically on the ways in which space was being (re)produced as (hetero) sexual or heteronormative (Browne, Lim, Brown, 2007: 2; Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston, 2008: 236).

The most influential factors were the theoretical works of post-feminist literary philosopher Judith Butler and (post)structuralist philosopher Michel Foucault, which informed new associated geographical scholarship (Foucault, 1995, 1980; Butler, 1990, 1993). Power as a factor was no longer "out of the theoretical reach", and the duality of 'structure and agency' continued to be studied in dialectical ways (Butler), human subjectivity and identity were deconstructed, ways beyond normative thinking and the perspectives of (sexual) majorities started to be sought. The loose association of approaches trying to reach these goals may be called queer theory[1].

During the 1990s most geographers still retained their urban focus, specifically in Europe where inner districts of major cities started to show interesting developments, or even explosions, of mostly gay commercial spaces. These urban developments, the so-called "gay villages", were closely connected to political, societal and economic changes in the late 1980s and 1990s. Geographers have begun deciphering various factors which have enabled the visible existence of gay spaces. The former term "gay ghettoes" became obsolete, pejorative and imprecise, and not only in the European context. Economic and political factors have been analysed in detail, especially those connected with the 'pink economy', which is a complicated term that might refer to a capitalist utilization of a disadvantaged groups' position (here non-heterosexual people). In other words, the pink economy might refer to a market niche available in heteronormative culture (Binnie, Skeggs, 2004), where certain environments (cities), with certain political-economies (democracy, capitalism), enabled the formation of gay- or lesbian-oriented commercial venues. Contemporary research in this field suggests (Bassi, 2006) that we should not jump to premature conclusions about the pink economy, as there might be other cultural-economic factors involved. We believe that our paper sheds some light on this issue as well.

What seems obvious, however, is that the developments of gay commercially-oriented venues did not cater to all non-heterosexuals, but indeed produced certain sexual-cultures (mainly gays') with their specific identity and inherently exclusionary politics. Thus the concept of homonormativity suggested itself. Certain bodies such as male, white, young, handsome and willing to consume, were preferred to socialize in new glamorous gay bars, cafés or restaurants, while other bodies were implicitly or explicitly excluded (Gorman-Murray, Waitt, Johnston, 2008). As Lisa Duggan had put it: "homonormativity… does not challenge heterosexist institutions and values, but rather upholds, sustains, and seeks inclusion within them" (Duggan, 2003).

Many spaces such as home (Johnston, Valentine, 1995), gay and lesbian bars (Valentine, Skelton, 2003) were studied in relation to space and human identity formation, but the general economic, cultural and social factors influencing the development of such places remains largely understudied.

It is relatively self-evident now that the previously dominant spatial science, with its rigid paradigms and conceptualizations of human behaviour, cannot provide explanations to these socio-spatial developments. Space, place and landscape are no longer perceived as Cartesian or deterministic, but rather as socially produced and shaped by complex power relations. The theories indicated above have re-conceptualized the role of human beings and their agency, and wider understandings of the larger structural influences imposed on them. It was mostly feminist and queer theories in geography which raised our understanding that human beings are not all alike but different and socio-spatially structured in complicated ways, on the basis of their gender, sex, race, sexuality and the other axes of human difference (Valentine, 2007). The socially constructed nature of structures such as patriarchy and heteronormativity seem to have been already vindicated (Hubbard, 2001; Kirby and Hay, 1997).

In the 2000s, several geographers underlined important methodological issues in mapping quantitative data of gay and lesbian lives and migration, by critically using national censuses such as in the United States (Brown, Knopp, 2006; Cooke, Rapino, 2007) or in Australia (Gorman-Murray et al., 2009). Those studies gave birth to a rich reflection on the intersection of queer theory and social science research (Browne, 2010). Furthermore, as emphasized by Michael Brown and Larry Knopp: "serious engagements with sexuality necessitate a careful reconsideration of some fundamental ontological, epistemological and methodological issues" (2003: 313). This paper raises similar issues, bringing methodological questions into the dialogue with quantitative studies and the qualitative approaches, interrogating how global and national forces[2] interact with a marginal and cultural phenomenon such as the development of gay businesses and places, in terms of their structurally different distribution throughout the EU, Norway and Switzerland[3]. The methodological approaches in sexuality and queer geography scholarship may be diverse, but they are largely qualitative. We believe that this domination may be contested as unnecessary.

We now proceed with a methodological section where we describe our primary source of data, together with the chosen quantitative analytical tool – principal components analysis (PCA). Then we focus on the selected variables and discuss some of the initial observations. From these initial results, we identify two main principal components (CP1 and

[1] For more about the queer theory, see Jagose, 1996.

[2] Being aware of other involved forces on different levels, such as local and city authorities, etc.

[3] Switzerland and Norway are not members of the EU, but their regional-political orientation is European. Therefore they had been considered in this research as if they had the same status as other EU states.

CP2) and focus on their interpretation and on an in-depth description of the results. We then conclude that issues of commodification and (in)visibilities are of major influence in structuring the spatial diversity of gay businesses and places. It is then the search for factors of gay (in)visibilities, commodification and gay place/spatial diversification, that lays behind our research interest.

2. Methodology

This paper focuses on the relative importance of gay facilities by analysing the proportion of the different types of 'gay places' in European cities, using quantitative methodology. The term 'gay' is used here for self-defined male homosexuals, whereas self-defined homosexual females are referred to as lesbians. Used as an adjective for the discussed places, it refers to those that permit self-defined homosexuals to live out their sexuality openly. From this perspective, patronising such places helps build a gay identity and culture, one in which homosexuality may be fully performed by discourses or acts.

For data analysis we utilized a principal components analysis (PCA), a mathematical version of 'factor analysis' which transforms a number of correlated variables, here indexed by the number of various 'gay places', into a (smaller) number of uncorrelated variables called principal components (see section 3). The term 'gay places' is used throughout this article for 'various gay places registered in the Spartacus International Gay Guide in its 2007 edition'. We utilized this 'guide' as a database for secondary data. This database has become a useful basis for other geographers and social scientists worldwide, so we are convinced that it is useful for analysing the spatial distribution of gay facilities through the end of the 20th and the early 21st century (Blidon, 2007; Salinas, 2007; Leroy, 2005).

Despite some criticism for often being slow in rectifying out-of-date address details, the Spartacus database was utilised for its uniqueness in presenting a global list of gay businesses, associations and cruising locations[4] alike. Therefore, we assumed that the selection criteria for listing were standardised, and hence comparable for all European countries. In this way the probability of errors was similar in all studied regions of the EU, Norway and Switzerland: for example, there was the same probability for listing a closed gay business or not including an active one in the study region.

Further, it is important to state that the Spartacus Gay Guide does not specifically cater to lesbians and the other sexual or gender minorities (bisexual, intersexual, MSM[5], transgender, etc.) and only in its first edition in 1974 did the authors include a focus on lesbian venues. Due to the Spartacus Gay Guide's narrow 'gay' focus, we have to limit the validity of most of our conclusions to 'mainstream gays'. At the same time, however, we bear in mind that people with other sexual identities are potential customers of the studied venues, and that most of these neither exclude them nor should they. It has been recognized in various studies that the potentials for sustaining solely lesbian venues are low, due to lesbians' weaker economic power (Adler, Brenner, 1992; Bondi, 1998; Duncan, 1996; Valentine, 1993; Weightman, 1981; Moran, 2001: 410). It is probably because of this situation that we did not find any comparable database for lesbian venues which would complement the data for 'gay venues' listed in Spartacus Gay Guide. Admittedly then, parts of lesbian geographies remain largely undiscovered by geographers and deserve further investigation. Significant contributions to lesbian research have been made during the last decades by several geographers such as Gill Valentine (1993a) or Nadine Cattan and Anne Clerval (2011).

While being aware of certain limitations, we are convinced that this methodology has enabled us to perceive overall patterns that would stay hidden or implicit if a qualitative methodology was used. The chosen methodology sheds light on some underlying factors of the emergence and development of 'gay places' in large cities, while staying at a European scale. This offers an opportunity to test some hypotheses proposed by the large body of scientific research on gay, lesbian and queer geography during the last decades. Such research suggests some explanations for the development of gay residential and commercial neighbourhoods – by gentrification and central urban regeneration processes in England (Collins, 2004); for Spain, Garcia Escalona (2000) uses the term 'ghetto' when dealing with Madrid's Chueca's case; and in France the 'Marais' case in Paris is explored by Michael Sibalis (2004). Although most of the existing research makes use of case studies and local or national data sources, this article utilises a rich international database for the purpose of uncovering and analysing complex mechanisms and trends which may lead to the diverse and uneven development of gay spaces in Europe.

3. Data analysis

The focus for the present study was the proportion of types of gay facilities in European cities with at least 100,000 inhabitants. Each city having at least 100,000 inhabitants presented in the Spartacus Gay Guide 2007[6], even if there was just one 'gay place', was integrated into the database for the PCA. Both criteria led to a total of 377 cities.

Preliminary analyses on these sampled cities did not lead to a clear identification of possible explanatory factors. Therefore, our subsequent analysis focused on 168 European cities, which are comprised of urban areas with at least 100,000 residents (defined in the Morphological Urban Area as fixed by IGEAT-ULB in the ESPON study on urban functions)[7], and where at least 10 'gay places' were located. The latter threshold is set in order to meet 'normal' analytical requirements for a database in terms of statistical

[4] Cruising places are exterior spaces (e.g. parks, wooded areas or service areas) where men can meet other men for brief sexual encounters.

[5] Men who have sex with men.

[6] We have counted up the number of 'gay places' listed in the Spartacus Gay Guide issued in 2007 and established a Europe-wide database. We were not given permission by the Spartacus Gay Guide editor to publish such a database nor set it up as an open source resource, however.

[7] ESPON is the European Spatial Planning Observation Network, which researched the delimitation of urban areas in Europe. Since the definition given to a city or to an urban area differs from country to country, one aim of ESPON, among others, is the establishment of the number of inhabitants in urban areas on the basis of multiple data sources whilst utilizing a common methodology in the data collection across all European countries.

power. Interestingly, several authors have posed the question of a threshold value for the sustainability of gay business or to represent its significance in cities. It has been suggested that at least 50,000 people were needed as a source population for sustaining a gay venue, such as a gay bar (Miller, 2009). Having more than 20 'commercial establishments catering to gays' seemed to Dennis Altman (1996) an acceptable criterion to select cities worldwide, where gay commercial expansion was occurring. Such thresholds should be fixed by taking the scale of the analysis into account.

We based our PCA analysis on 27 different categories of gay places, representing businesses and locations from the Spartacus Guide in its 2007 edition. Some of the variables have been aggregated, whereas other guide categories have been split for reasons of geographic location. This study focuses on urban areas, therefore the nation-wide categories of the Spartacus Guide (like national gay info, publications, companies or help lines) were not used. In addition, any on-line categories without a street-level address were not included. Regarding the cruising (see footnote 5), two categories were set up by distinguishing between cruising places located in swimming pools, added to the beach category, and all other cruising places. The categories of culture, museum, archives and monument were merged, because of their limited size and close relationship to culture in general. The averages and standard deviations of the 27 categories are shown in Table 1. The most frequent categories in the 168 studied cities were bars (22% of the gay places)[8], cruising places (16%), dance clubs (9%) and saunas or bathhouses (7%).

Category	Average presence among 168 cities	Standard deviation	PC 1 loadings	PC 2 loadings	Identifying number in Fig. 2
Culture / monument / archives / museums	0.27	0.93	0.20	– 0.31	7
Fashion shops	0.33	0.89	0.53	– 0.08	10
Massage	0.33	0.61	0.16	0.40	19
Fitness studios	0.35	0.83	0.52	– 0.19	11
Drag shows	0.35	0.82	0.36	0.27	25
Travel agencies	0.48	0.94	0.49	0.11	27
Cinemas/Blue movies	0.60	1.86	– 0.13	– 0.49	3
Escorts/Studios	0.61	1.28	0.18	– 0.19	9
Local publications	0.73	1.17	0.51	0.22	18
Private accommodation	0.88	1.41	0.45	– 0.16	21
Leather/Fetish shops	0.90	1.55	0.44	0.08	17
Bookshops	1.04	1.56	0.29	0.03	4
Health groups	1.08	1.85	– 0.03	– 0.44	15
Gay tourist info. (not Internet)	1.81	2.44	0.05	– 0.56	12
Apartments	1.86	2.81	0.54	– 0.21	1
General groups / Other groups	1.90	2.93	– 0.12	– 0.27	13
Guesthouse	3.19	4.78	0.21	– 0.42	14
Men's clubs	3.44	3.16	0.47	0.14	20
Cafes	4.00	3.94	0.10	0.30	5
Cruising places (beaches and swimming pools)	4.65	6.05	– 0.33	– 0.38	26
Restaurants	5.30	4.89	0.58	– 0.14	22
Sex shops and Blue Movies	6.01	4.74	– 0.21	0.17	24
Hotels	6.09	6.01	0.57	– 0.15	16
Saunas/bathhouses	6.63	4.66	– 0.24	0.13	23
Dance clubs	9.43	6.01	– 0.25	0.11	8
Cruising places	15.56	13.14	– 0.68	– 0.10	6
Bars	21.67	10.86	0.07	0.64	2
Hypothesis category 1: Total gay places	Not in PCA	Not in PCA			A
Hypothesis category 2: Urban area population	Not in PCA	Not in PCA			B

Tab. 1: Selected aggregate variables (categories) included in the PCA

[8] Concretely, every city of the sample (having more than 100,000 and having at least 10 places), has at least two bars, generally speaking. Further, there are 10 cities from the sample that have no bars among their gay facilities.

When assessing the geographical distribution of 'gay places' at the European macro-regional level, it became clear that there is a relationship between population size and the number of registered 'gay places'. Table 2 displays the total number of 'gay places' for selected European countries: note that the more populated European states, such as Germany, Spain, France, Italy or the United Kingdom (UK), also have the highest counts. As will be obvious to many readers here, there are however great discrepancies between a country's population and its number of 'gay places'. For example, consider Poland with 40 million inhabitants and Czechia with 10 million inhabitants – respectively having 92 and 97 gay places. Such discrepancies are about to be explained by factors revealed in this study.

This relationship was considered further by analysing the correlation between urban area population, as given in the ESPON study (see footnote 7), and the number of 'gay places' per urban area.

Country	Number of 'gay places'	Number of gay places (cities having at least 10 'gay places')
Germany	1245	1138
Spain	995	685
France	863	729
Italy	685	479
UK	555	236
Netherlands	309	265
Belgium	234	174
Switzerland	150	146
Greece	121	39
Austria	106	81
Portugal	105	99
Sweden	101	40
Czechia	97	84
Poland	92	62
Denmark	69	62
Hungary	63	54
Ireland	49	49
Romania	49	19
Finland	48	35
Norway	39	28
Bulgaria	36	21
Slovakia	24	19
Estonia	23	19
Slovenia	21	15
Lithuania	20	10
Cyprus	19	12
Latvia	17	17
Luxemburg	14	14
Malta	7	0

Tab. 2: Number of 'gay places' per selected European country

The correlation is quite strong at 0.66 for the preliminary sample of 377 cities. This explains why the European megalopolis, the so-called blue banana, a large area stretching from Southern England to the large cities in Benelux countries, Western Germany, Switzerland and Northern Italy, is immediately obvious (see Fig. 1). Some important exceptions exist, however. For instance there is a group of large capital cities (specifically in the Central European region) with relatively small numbers of gay facilities. The only exceptions are Budapest and Prague, which are relatively well-served. The opposite situation can be observed at sea resorts with mostly smaller populations, such as Sitges, Ibiza, Benidorm or Torremolinos (Spain), Mykonos (Greece), as well as Blackpool and Brighton in the UK. The situation at the sea resorts can be relatively easily explained due to their commercial-tourist orientation and not to a permanent residential orientation.

Principal components analysis (PCA) was used for the purpose of identifying the most important linkages between the variables. PCA is helpful to calculate, visualise, and comprehend such linkages. This statistical analysis aims to select a subset of variables from a larger set, based on which original variables have the highest correlations with the principal component. Geometrically, the produced component may be understood as the axis or vector passing through the maximum variation (variance) of the projected values of the original observations (data points). Successively, new independent components are created with decreasing variance accounted for in the residual variance matrix. Further developments in PCA are demonstrated by I. T. Jolliffe (2002). The results of the PCA are displayed as new variables (the principal components), which synthesise the included information in the initial 27 variables. Here, it is useful to treat our database because it consists of numerous categories (27) observed in 168 cities. This fact makes the database complex if we want to find out directly whether any geographical opposition exists between cities and/or countries regarding the kind of existing gay facilities they have.

This study examines only the two most important principal components. These two components account for a total of 57% of all variance (i.e. the information in all original 27 variables), with the first component accounting for 37% of the variance, and the second for 20%. Furthermore, the component matrix represents a projection of the two first components' plan, which enables one to visualise the position of each variable when projected on the plan of the two new dimensions or components, CP1 and CP2 (see Fig. 2 and detailed legend from Tab. 1). On the basis of the PCA results, we focus our attention on the highest correlations between variables and components which resulted in the identification of the two first components: a detailed discussion is presented in the following section.

4. Commodifying 'gay places'

The first dimension that arises from the analysis, the first principal component (CP1), is positively correlated with restaurants (Fig. 2, label 22), hotels (label 16), and apartments (label 1). On the opposite side of the axis, cruising places (Fig. 2, label 6) have the highest negative correlation (– 0.68) with CP1. As places of accommodation (comfortable) and cruising places (uncomfortable) obtain the highest correlations, this relation might be described as a gay 'comfort' axis. Since accommodation capacity is linked to tourism, an interpretation of CP1 as a touristic dimension is also feasible. In his study, Howard

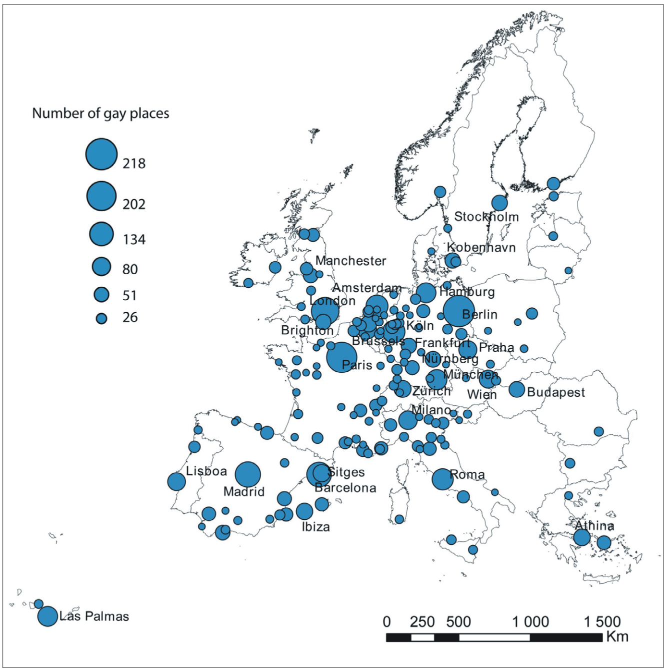

Fig. 1: Total number of gay places and businesses in major urban areas in the EU, Norway and Switzerland
Sources: Spartacus Gay Guide (2007); made with Philcarto: http://philcarto.free.fr

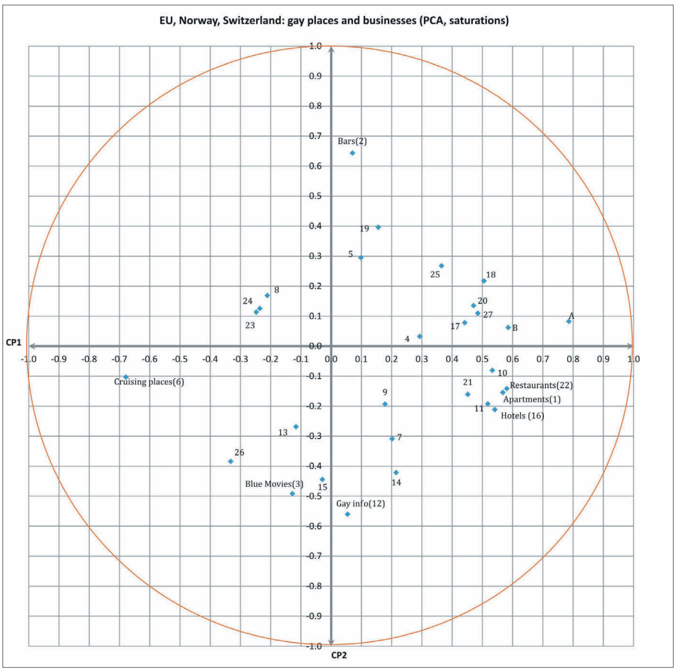

Fig. 2: Variable loadings on the first two principal components, data on gay places and businesses in EU, Norway and Switzerland. Source: Computed by authors´

Hughes (2006) reported a survey that portrayed hotels as the most used accommodation by gay and lesbian travellers; nevertheless, bisexual, transgendered and the other sexual minorities have access to them as well. Interestingly, hotels have a higher correlation with the first component than apartments or private accommodations, even if they supposedly offer more privacy to gays. Therefore, 'comfort' may be considered as a consequence of a touristic dimension. On the other hand cruising places appear to be more frequent in smaller towns (from the pool of over 100,000 inhabitants cities) than in larger cities. Therefore, we can also think that the PCA opposes small towns to larger cities and that CP1 is also interpretable as an urban hierarchy axis (see Fig. 2, the correlation of the variable 'Total 'gay places''/ short label A).

The variable 'urban area population' (short label B) was also projected on the components graph as it shows a correlation of 0.6 with CP1. This result is weaker in absolute value than the correlation of – 0.68 for the cruising variable, but this can be explained by the unique significance of seaside resorts, which are well-served while being less densely populated. Nevertheless, an interpretation of the first component as a touristic dimension, together with the urban hierarchy, is not necessarily contradictory. Here, it is useful to keep in mind that the correlation coefficient between overnight stays[9] (European Cities Tourism, 2011) in cities and the population of the urban area is 0.55, which shows a strong link between the urban hierarchy and urban tourism.

Besides the factors discussed above, commodification processes of gay culture are at stake in the entrepreneurial cities. As mentioned in the introduction, the commodification of gay culture is considered by some authors (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004; Hughes, 1997) as a tool for attracting global capital flows into cities by funding the rise of gay villages in city centres (e.g. the gay village in Manchester, UK). Therefore, over-equipped cities with gay facilities can be seen as those that invested the most in the commodification of gay culture. In this respect, gay villages represent cosmopolitan environments which aim to attract tourists and affluent residents.

As commodification in the late post-industrial phases of advanced capitalism can incorporate some previously marginalised groups, herein gays, for example through processes of commercial and residential gentrification and media marketization, some gays and lesbians remain excluded from such villages, frequently on the basis of their seemingly extravagant gender identity, race, age or class (Binnie, Skeggs, 2004; Rushbrook, 2002). Therefore it is not a surprise that recent commodification also appears to cause segmentations among gay people, while constructing what should be the 'good gayness' and diffusing this model of the 'global gay' in the 'West' and worldwide (Altman, 2001). According to Bell and Binnie (2004), this is connected to the process of 'homonormativity' and to a broader agenda of assimilationist sexual citizenship, producing a global repertoire of themed gay villages.

Consequently, all the labels proposed as an interpretation of the first component (comfort, tourism, urban hierarchy) may be explained by the commodification of gayness, because comfort is linked to tourism which may be a result of the urban marketing of gay villages. As it is, these gay villages have developed in major 'Western' cities as homosexuals and gays moved to large cities to escape historical sexual and social constraints of traditional life (Aldrich, 2004), and in some instances (North American cities) to gain political power by residential concentrations in former 'gay ghettos' (Castells, 1983). Since the 1980s, several cities in North America, Western Europe or Australia, became the receiving zones of global capitalist flows (Lauria and Knopp, 1985), due to local governments' actions for urban marketing and the gentrification of gay neighbourhoods. In addition, a commercial gentrification is at stake in several cities worldwide, including events that cater for gay people such as 'gay and lesbian prides' or 'gay games' (Wait, 2006). These developments could be understood as a consequence of the rise of the 'recreational city paradigm' in some parts of the world. Beyond this theoretical background, a map (Fig. 3) of the CP1 scores may be useful for a better understanding of the PCA results. Several cities have positive scores on CP1, meaning that gay facilities like hotels or restaurants are over-represented in such cities. We have distinguished four main categories here.

The first group of cities comprises the national capitals such as Berlin, Paris, London, Madrid, Amsterdam, Brussels, Prague, Rome, Budapest, Copenhagen, Tallinn and Ljubljana. The second group comprises other cities with a minimum population of 500,000 inhabitants (Hamburg, Cologne, Nuremberg, Zurich, Milan, Barcelona, Antwerp, Edinburgh, Florence, Venice and Nice). The third group includes other prominent cities (Montpellier, Bologna[10], Frankfurt, Pisa, Vigo, Dresden, Bruges and Charleroi), and the fourth group represents the seaside resorts (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Blackpool, Sitges, Mykonos, Ibiza or Viareggio). All of these four groups of cities obtained significantly positive scores on CP1.

In contrast to these positively represented groups, another group of national capital cities is slightly negative, so they are under-equipped (Dublin, Lisbon, Oslo, Stockholm, Helsinki, Athens and Vilnius) or heavily under-equipped (Luxemburg, Riga, Bratislava, Bucharest and Sofia) with respect to this gay commodification index. In this latter grouping, two subgroups can be discriminated. First, cities that are located in rather isolated but rich regions with long-term effects of commodification (Dublin, Oslo and Helsinki), and secondly cities which are less affluent and/or isolated when it comes to the timing of effects of commodification and discourses of capitalism coming from the West (Athens, Vilnius, Riga, Bratislava, Bucharest and Sofia). Luxemburg remains complicated, with a role played both by the small population size of the city and the presence of other large gay cities nearby.

Evaluating the first component scores map confirms, by and large, our interpretation of the first axis as a dimension of commodification and subsequent tourism activity. High and low scores on the first component, however, are surely not only influenced by the impacts of capital, but also by a wider array of cultural effects such as religious and traditional values (Štulhofer, Rimac, 2009), or the transitions towards more post-materialist cultural values (Inglehart 2006) – such as liberal values, civil rights and democratization. Indeed, the wide array of research conducted during the past two decades suggests that this cultural background plays an

[9] Data source: City tourism statistics compiled by European Cities Tourism (2011). Data for cities such as Paris, London, Amsterdam or Vienna were not available.

[10] Bologna is often portrayed as city with the highest number of gays in Italy. See for example p.17 of the following report: http://www.creativeclass.com/rfcgdb/articles/Italy%20in%20the%20Creative%20Age.pdf

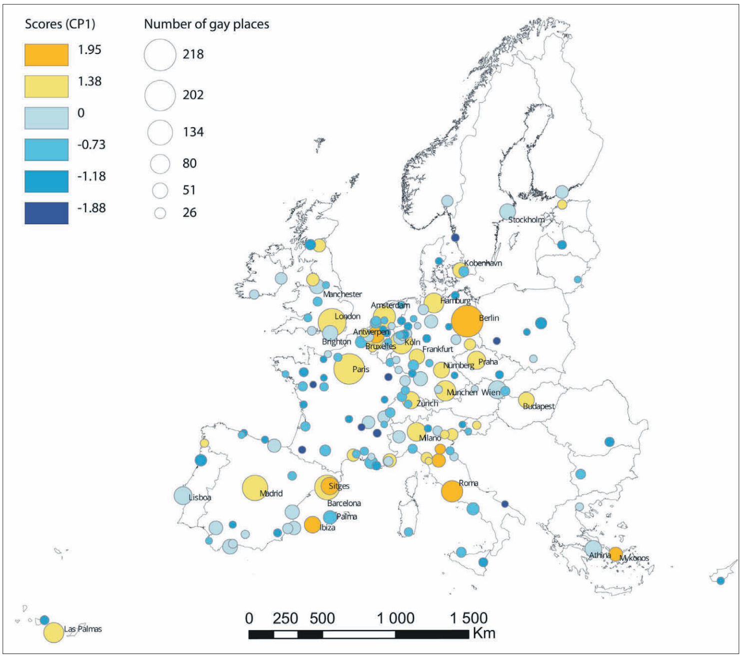

Fig. 3: CP1 scores for selected cities in Europe
Sources: Spartacus Gay Guide (2007); made with Philcarto: http://philcarto.free.fr

important role in the development of gay places. We will elaborate these factors in more detail while uncovering how they are related to the second component.

5. Locating places of gay sociability and problematizing spatial gay (in)visibility

This section discusses and interprets the second component (CP2) on the basis of the component loadings (i.e. the correlations between variables and the component: see Fig. 2 above), as it would be difficult to interpret the second component's map prior to analysing these loadings. In such an attempt, the highest correlations will be given priority.

Gay bars have the highest positive correlations (+ 0.63) on CP2 and thus constitute the best variable for interpreting this component. On the opposite side, it is 'gay/tourist info' (places where gay information may be found: – 0.58), gay blue movies (gay porn cinemas: – 0.5) and health groups (– 0.45), which have the highest negative correlations. A comparative reading of Fig. 4a (map of CP2 scores) and of Fig. 4b (map of bars) makes their relationship clear from their common distribution patterns.

Gay bars are portrayed by several authors as sociability places[11] for gays (see Marianne Blidon for France, 2007), or as Salinas (2007) puts it for Spain, spaces for their social relationships. Gert Hekma (2006) underlines the bars' exclusivity to the gay scene of the 1960s and the 1970s: that is to say, a gay scene without gay bars was then unthinkable. Bars also played a crucial role in the rise of the gay movement in the USA (cf. the Stonewall Inn). Opening a gay bar was seen as both a militant and an entrepreneurial act at the same time by the owners of gay bars, as several authors have pointed out for Paris's gay village "le Marais" (Sibalis, 2004; Giraud, 2009). These gay businesses spearheaded commercial gentrification in many major cities in the "West" (Western Europe and North America mainly) and contributed to subsequent gay visibility.

Nowadays, it is very common in several West European cities to see gay activist activities linked to a particular bar (associative bars). Furthermore, gay bars serve as places of social (re)production of gay sub-cultural values of masculinity, as they differentiate on the basis of their performed gay identities, especially in major cities (Bell, Valentine, 1995). In this sense, bars contribute to a long-term construction of gay identities by giving room to its expression, performativity and reproduction for some gay people (De Busscher, 2000). Gay bars moreover cater to other people including bisexuals, or 'interested straights', in contrast to venues presenting movies with explicit sexual content (blue movies[12]). These cinemas cater exclusively for men. Showing 'blue movies' puts these cinemas into the category of 'places of sexual encounters', that Salinas (2007) described in the Spanish case to be places of furtive (sexual) encounters that are characteristic for places of reduced

[11] Sociability places should be understood as places where sociability occurs, whereas social relationships spaces are those where social relationships can be built. We would like to point out here that gay bars may play both roles for gays and other sexual minorities.

[12] These « Blue movies » also carry a 'VS' code for 'video shows' in the Spartacus Gay Guide.

homosexual visibility. Thus, we can conclude at this stage that the second axis contrasts closeted (hidden and more secretive) gay subculture with a more open and visible mainstream gay subculture.

The two categories 'gay/tourist info.' and 'health group' were also among the highest negatively correlated variables with respect to CP2. We will discuss them further in order to test the hypothesis about this axis (CP2).

The 'gay/tourist info.' variable is an aggregated category (Fig. 2, short label 9) and includes local gay groups and inquiry points for tourists. Fig. 5b shows that this category of gay facilities is present in every major Italian city in the sample, except for Viareggio and Venice. Gay groups seem to have a wide diffusion in Italian cities. Such an observation leads to several questions. Does this point to a real difference in Italian gay groups' capabilities (as opposed to the other

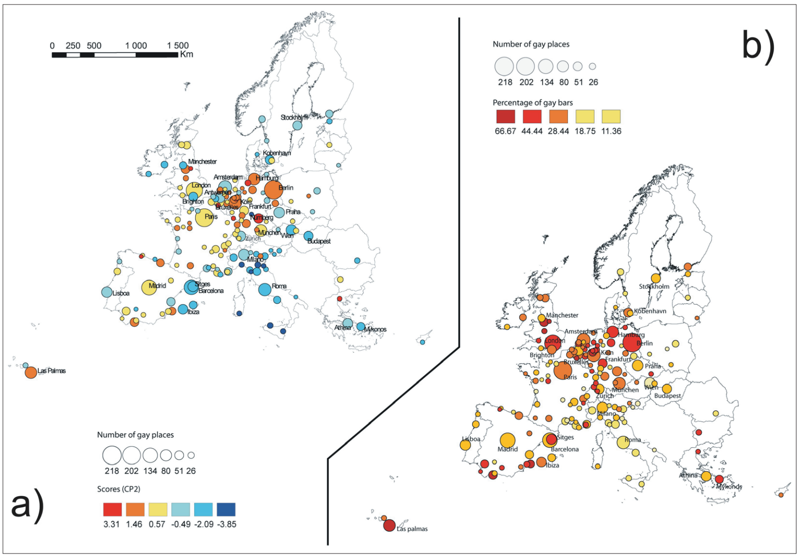

Fig. 4: a) City scores on the second component (PC2). Source: authors' calculations; b) Percentage of gay bars in the total number of 'gay places' per urban area in the EU, Norway and Switzerland in 2007. Sources: Spartacus Gay Guide (2007); made with Philcarto: http://philcarto.free.fr

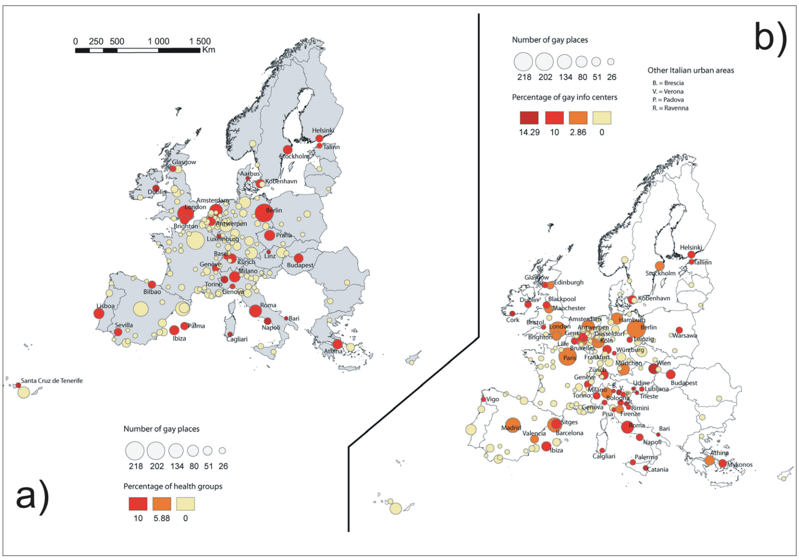

Fig. 5: a) Percentage of health groups in the total number of 'gay places' per urban area in the EU, Norway and Switzerland in 2007; b) Percentage of gay info. centres in the total number of 'gay places' per urban area in the EU, Norway and Switzerland in 2007. Sources: Spartacus Gay Guide (2007); made with Philcarto: http://philcarto.free.fr

countries in the European Union), or is this evidence of an increased willingness to be more visible to their target audience? Could their higher number be a sign of a greater need for more LGBT[13] rights in Italy? It should also be considered that in Italy, gay groups are playing an equivalent role that associative gay bars did in other Western countries in the 1970s and 1980s, perhaps as a tool for the construction of gay visibility and acceptance in the wider society.

The Italian results are significantly different enough that we may interpret them by a larger set of arguments which applies also to discussion of CP1 results. We need to consider a broader field of the economic, cultural and societal factors that are involved here (Fig. 6). These factors should be discussed as background to our data (CP1 and CP2), as they reflect and impact the development of gay places.

Every nation, every region and every society has more or less different historical experience, some countries developed democracy later some sooner, some regions were rich in natural resources, etc. In short, some societies are more liberal about LGBT issues than others. Inglehart (2006) has connected this to the wider trend of transition from material (conservative, traditional and insecure) to post-material (more secure and liberal) values in societies. Interestingly, many LGBT sociological and activist reports agree (COE, 2011; FRA, 2008, 2009, 2010; EC, 2009; ILGA, 2013), and use societal values for explaining different attitudes[14] in different regions. Without straying into deeper discussion of these issues, we should be aware of certain historical pre-conditions (history of law and medicine) connected with these attitudes towards non-heterosexuals: for example, how long homosexuality has been decriminalized in the country (Waaldijk, 2000), or when it stopped being considered as a disease by practitioners. The 'societal image of homosexuality' is impacted, hence it affects the 'strictness of heteronormativity'.

Other conditions, such as the prevalence of 'traditional religious, national and familial values' are also important. The presence of strong orthodox religious discourse in a society may prefer certain heteronormative or discriminatory interpretations of sacred texts (COE, 2011). Similarly, some national discourses connected to 'ways of living your life as a proper citizen' may be connected to norms in sexuality, but also to 'accepted ways of family building', with an inclination to policing 'stereotypical' feminine and masculine gender roles in women and men. Moreover, if there is no anti-discriminatory legislation addressing sexuality and gender discrimination in the region, then even media, politicians or other opinion makers may (re)produce discourses which reinforce regional heteronormativity. This therefore impacts the security and comfort of non-heterosexuals. The structure of gay places may then be seen as a mirror to these conditions, combined with other wider regional economic and political conditions.

In the case of Italy, then, it is plausible to interpret the differences which are clearly in contrast to the other European countries, using some of these factors. Firstly, Italy has, to date, enforced only very limited anti-discriminatory jurisdiction (COE, 2011; ILGA, 2013). Secondly, the Vatican has a strong geographical position in the south of the country and in Rome, but its influence extends over local media as well. Thus far, neither the Catholic Church nor the Pope has showed any liberal progression in attitudes towards homosexuals. Moreover, societal reports (COE, 2011) rank Italy among the most traditional (in the foregoing sense) of European societies (together with Albania, Greece, Montenegro, Russia and Ukraine). On the other hand, as quite visible from the discussion of CP1, Rome is an important entrepreneurial capital (together with Milan, Florence, Venice and Bologna) and shows up as being more liberal. In general, we believe that it is therefore much less comfortable to be visibly 'gay' in an Italian city than in similar cities in Germany, UK or Spain, even if less comfort in the visibility of gayness does not necessarily prevent a person from finding other ways of performing one's gayness.

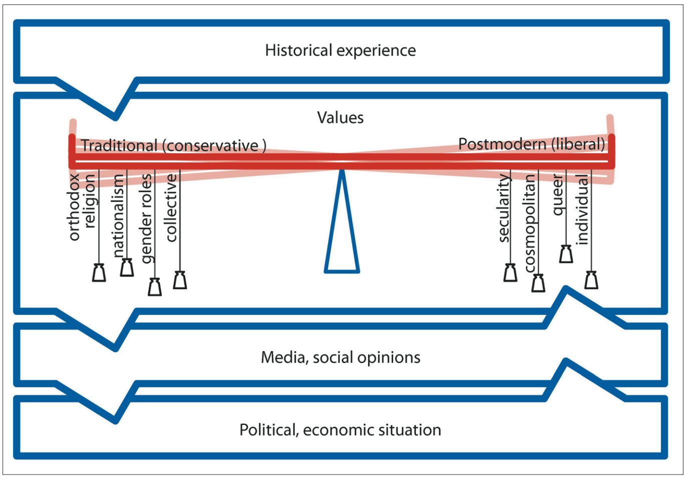

Fig. 6: The wider field of economic, cultural and societal factors behind the foundations of heteronormativity
Source: authors´

[13] LGBT is an acronym used to refer to lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people.

[14] For example, attitudes to discrimination of sexual minorities or towards LGBT people in general.

A recent study by Nadine Cattan and Alberto Vanolo (2011) is useful in addressing some of these issues. The authors evaluate lesbian night-time events in Paris and 'GLBTQ nights' in Turin (Italy), and explain part of the invisibility in the case of Italy as one of "ephemeral and temporal spaces". Such events "are performed in temporary places that are in clubs that, for the rest of the week, are intended for other customers and for different sexual identities [heterosexual]" (Cattan, Vanolo, 2011).

Furthermore, these authors described the Turin "GLBTQ scene" as follows: "*…In Turin there are basically not 'fixed' GLBTQ discos and clubs, but just particular thematic nights (apart from three gay-friendly bars). Currently, mainstream GLBTQ events take place every Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights, organized by different associations, while minor events take form in residual and 'alternative' spaces. The spatial presence of the gay commercial spaces is therefore limited to certain times, and dispersed in the city space, so there is nothing like a 'gay area'.*"

Even though these gatherings are temporary, they act like spaces of empowerment, enabling LGBT people to dream and live reassuring emotions in the space and time period between the parties. This leads to the assumption that local Italian gays' sociability occurs in different ways, compared to other European cities, where gay districts (or gay villages) are often located in town centres and are therefore visible. These observations echo those of Luigi Mosca's[15] about southern Italy – that local associative initiatives are more successful in touristic coastal areas when such initiatives can enjoy more visibility than in core areas. Therefore, in Italy, gay sociability occurs more in touristic areas like beaches, or in gay-friendly spaces like discos and clubs, characterised by greater degree of fluidity when it comes to the definitions of sexual identity.

Following the Spartacus Gay Guide, health groups give information in particular about AIDS. There are few European cities where such groups are mentioned. Interestingly, Italy has the highest number of cities that have such health information facilities. We are not able to explain this overrepresentation of health groups in Italy, however, apart from the previous questions raised about gay groups in Italy in general, such as the willingness of Italian gay groups for greater visibility.

The analysis of mapping the scores of the second component using the observed distribution patterns across the EU, Norway and Switzerland may now be discussed. This map (Fig. 4) generally sets German cities – regardless of their hierarchical position and where bars are overrepresented in the 'gay places' structure – in opposition to Italian cities, where gays bars are underrepresented. Most of the other seaside resorts also have negative scores on CP2, except for Las Palmas (Canary Islands, Spain). These values can be explained by an overrepresentation of cruising places (beaches) in these locations or by an underrepresentation of bars. Geographers, for example Emmanuel Jaurand and Stéphane Leroy (2008), have pointed to the role that Mediterranean beaches have played in homoeroticism and gay sociability, particularly as the cultural inheritance of Ancient Greece. This point strengthens an interpretation of the CP2 as a gay sociability component.

Some well-equipped capitals such as Prague, Budapest, Tallinn are negatively correlated with CP2, and this signifies that their commercial structure is less dominated by bars. Similar results with negative CP2 numbers can be found for Dublin and the other Western European cities, Scandinavian capitals, and for Athens, Bucharest, Vilnius and Warsaw. Finally, Bratislava, Sofia, Riga and Luxemburg, however, show an opposite situation, with slightly positive scores at CP2.

This can be interpreted as the limited visibility of homosexuality in these countries – either due to a greater acceptance of homosexuality in the wider society as in Scandinavia, UK or Benelux, or in contrast due to 'stricter heteronormativity' and the more conservative orientation of other countries (Slovakia, Bulgaria, or Latvia). Even in less accepting regions, however, where gay culture remains mostly invisible, non-heterosexual people are present and develop strategies for living out their sexuality socially. Anthropologist Liselotte van Velzen (2004), in her study on Belgrade, pointed out that such strategies include passing[16] as straight or migrating to cyberspace[17] to preserve anonymity. These strategies, however, maintain these homophobic economic and social environments largely uncontested.

In such situations, the Internet plays an important role as it enables communication between and within sexual minorities – and subsequently allows 'empowerment', since every otherwise spatially isolated individual can experience a (virtual) gay community and feel strengthened in their gay identity construction. The Internet can be viewed as well as an important factor influencing the very existence of gay places, such as venues, by reducing their number or making them invisible in the urban space. This hypothesis is corroborated by the findings of Brad Ruting (2008), who studied the economic transformation of gay spaces in Sydney, finding that the Internet is an important factor. This hypothesis may also partially explain why gay bars do not dominate cities and activist networks in Bulgaria or Romania, where local societies are rather 'traditional' – even though they are networked.

Generally speaking, the CP2 dimension may be interpreted as showing the local conditions of gay sociability (i.e. semi-public places where many forms of gay sociability may occur regardless of visibility). This finding calls for a discussion of gay (in)visibilities as they may also be proposed as an interpretation for the CP1 dimension, since it opposes cruising places (invisible) which have the highest correlation on it. Nonetheless, one should keep in mind that bars, as the penultimate indicator of gay visibility, have their best correlation on CP2, and not on the primary CP1 dimension.

6. Discussion: Challenging gay (in)visibilities in Europe

An important basis for discussion of the socio-spatial organization of gay lives is the European survey on discrimination in the EU, conducted in 2009 (European Commission, from now on EC 2009). Some results of this survey deserve a closer look with regard to the '(in) visibility' axis of 'gayness' in Europe, and thus to the interpretation of CP2.

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[15] MOSCA Luigi, Ph.D. Anthropology, Universita Degli Studi and Université de Bruxelles, interviewed on 02/08/2012

[16] Shifting sexual identities, i.e. performing gay identity only with gay-friendly friends, while passing as straight or behaving inconspicuously when in public spaces.

[17] Internet chat rooms, etc.

The 2009 survey underlines the relationships between gay invisibility and perceived discrimination towards LGBT people. It clearly shows that the lower the perceived discrimination in a country is, the lower is the percentage of people who have friends among homosexuals. This may be an illustration of a reaction where people who do not rate sexual discrimination as an important societal challenge, do not notice it and may even deny its existence as they do not have any LGBT friends or relatives. Consequently, this leads to lower perceived discrimination in ascending EU states (Bulgaria, Czech Republic (both at 22% of the surveyed citizens), Slovakia (27%) and Estonia (28%). Such results are surprisingly below the EU average (47%). Therefore, it can be suggested that the survey data are indicating the results of ignorance towards homosexuals rather than perceived discrimination.

The survey also describes a decrease in the perceived extent of discrimination throughout the EU (compared with a 2008 survey), but it is still seen as particularly widespread in many of the Mediterranean countries (Cyprus: 66%, Greece: 64%). Furthermore, Italy and France, both with 61%, show results far above the EU average of 47%. The report also underlines the situation in the Netherlands where discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation is thought to be growing. This development can be linked to an increased incidence of attacks against LGBT people there in recent years. At the same time, significantly fewer citizens in Italy and the UK now believe that 'discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation is widespread in their country' than what was recorded in 2008. If we examine the averages on the comfort scale from 1 to 10, the results of this survey reveal that people in Sweden (8.7), Denmark (8.4) and the Netherlands (8.2), are the most comfortable with having a LGBT leader in their country, while people in Bulgaria (3.2), Romania and Turkey (each 3.4) report feeling the least comfortable (EC, 2009).

Another study, conducted by Norwegian researchers (Røthing, Bang, 2010), explains how difficult it can be for LGBT youth to accept their homosexuality, even in a country as tolerant as Norway[18]. Disturbing linkages between homophobia (or heteronormativity) and suicidal behaviour in youngsters had been reported. The authors (ibid. 2010) explain this paradoxical situation as the result of the lack of "non-heterosexual future-scapes" offered in school and in society in general, creating young peoples' fear of being or becoming homosexual (homo-negativism). On the other hand, Norway has a marriage act that states the equality of homosexual and heterosexual relationships. The authors argue, however, that "many of those who support the law and the rights of lesbians and homosexuals do not necessarily find homosexuality as desirable or as worthy of being promoted as heterosexuality" (ibid. 2010: 160).

This 'homo-negativism', or maybe better 'strict heteronormativity', is occurring also in other European countries with egalitarian legislations like those in Scandinavian countries, and we believe that in part this may explain the remaining gay invisibility in some regions of these countries.

As outlined above, some wider field of economic, cultural and societal factors is involved, specifically that connected with 'traditionalism' and 'liberalism' in people's values, and we will extend these arguments a little further (see Fig. 6, again). As in the case of Italy, the strong position of the Church seems to be important for the preservation of 'conservative and traditional' discourses. We are convinced from these data that a religion's position or opinion is of utmost importance with respect to gay visibility and the existence of gay spaces, in general, and not only across the EU.

Clearly, religion is most important here, but it would be incorrect to see it simplistically as an epitome of intolerance or even hate: religions as ideologies cannot be generally dismissed as intolerant or rejectionist. Clear differences may be thus identified in European countries, where the major religion is Christianity. First, Scandinavian countries together with most of the western European countries, are predominantly Protestant. Protestantism has been shown to adopt the most liberal or progressive attitudes towards homosexuality (Štulhofer, Rimac, 2009). Perhaps also due to this factor, it is possible for homosexuals to get married in churches there (e.g. in Denmark or Sweden). A variety of southern and central European countries are mostly Roman Catholic (e.g. Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Spain, and Italy). Here Italy is additionally influenced by the position of the Vatican State, as discussed before. Lastly, most eastern European countries are predominantly Orthodox: perhaps the best example is Russia, where the contemporary worsening situation of LGBT rights illustrates not only the conservative attitudes of the Orthodox Church, but also its conjunctions to the state. In spite of the fact that Russia is not a member state of the EU, it has a profound impact on political and ideological development in most of the Eastern European region. Štulhofer and Rimac (2009) give good examples of these religious and cultural influences in more detail. Even though more religious countries show lower scores for gay presence (lower numbers of gay bars: see Fig. 4b) and visibility, causality between religious structure and homosexuality is much more complex and deserves further investigation. Despite these facts we conclude that the impact of religions is somewhat traditional and plausibly reactionary towards gay (in)visibility.

7. Greater gay acceptance in wider society

In presenting the results of cities on the CP2 dimension, we distinguished two groups of cities connected with negative CP2 results and therefore to gay (in)visibility. The first group was connected to invisibility largely because of the previously-mentioned factors connected to general heteronormativity (Bratislava, Sofia, Riga, etc.). For the second group (Scandinavian capitals, some Western European cities, Prague or Budapest), we implied that promotion of liberal values in their societies might cause lesser need for exclusive socializing in 'gay bars', hence less demand for them. This is an interesting 'trend' to elaborate.

Our own observations in Prague, Budapest and Copenhagen indicate that the development of gay visibilities does not necessarily show in the form of signposting gay symbolism, such as rainbow flags or stickers in front of businesses. In Prague, gay people are becoming more and more visible in spaces which are not labelled by 'gay exclusivity', and this may in turn lead to reducing the need to open a gay bar. As a result of this, the niche market which capitalizes LGBT clientele might also be weakened as a result of choice instead of necessity.

[18] According to the ILGA-Europe Rainbow Europe Index 2013 report, Norway is second to the UK as the most sexually equal country in Europe.

We find it useful to juxtapose the progressive commodification strategies with slow but growing acceptance of LGBT people. The phenomenon of an increasing acceptance of a diversifying society, where the previous state was dominated by gay exclusivity, can be named 'de-gaying', and this holds especially true for Copenhagen. Danish people are one of the most tolerant in the EU (EC, 2009; EU LGBT survey, 2013). This country was, for example, the first to introduce registered partnerships in 1986, and had founded an LGBT organization originally in 1948. This process of 'gayness' integration in wider society now makes 'exclusive' (i.e. visible or marketed) gay clubs economically and socially obsolete. Despite the positive reading of this, the term 'de-gaying' is used by many authors in a rather negative way (Whittle, 1994; Collins, 2004), when they are addressing a wider assimilation of 'gayness' into a commoditized cosmopolitan culture, when consumable 'appropriate gayness' has become an urban spectacle (Rushbrook, 2002). It would be, therefore, naive to read the recent changes in gay visibilities as a result of the sole growing acceptance of gays and other sexual minorities.

Many cities in Central Europe, including Prague, have communist legacies, which at least to some degree succeeded in lowering the social differentiation process, consequently with the drawback of making homosexuality a taboo. Thus, no 'explicit' gay clubs existed during the communist era. Although the contemporary Prague 'gay scene' is slightly over-equipped (CP1), its future existence may eventually become unimportant, even when the commodification of 'gayness' is in its early phase there. On the one hand, new types of gay businesses are appearing (gay travel agencies, etc.) and on the other, these market potentials may diminish with the rise of societal acceptance. Therefore, the existence of gay venues can be seen as complex, and the commodification processes favouring capitalisation or exploiting the unequal situation of homosexuals have to be further problematized, especially at the present time of a continuous liberalization of cultural values.

Concluding the issue of gay (in)visibilities, we would like to include a short anecdote that took place in Prague. It represents a good example of what 'gay (in)visibility' can be and how problematic it is for researchers to measure it. On Christmas Day 2012, a family (mixed-sex parents with two children) visiting Prague, entered a gay men bear[19] bar for a moment, while not knowing exactly what kind of bar it was and then leaving the place after realising that it was a gay bear bar and not a place they intended to visit. This short experience of less than two minutes might be considered as a proof of gay (in)visibility in Prague, because this bar is easily accessible to everyone. At the same time, one may argue that bar was not 'visibly gay enough' in the public space, and that this is the reason why the family did not initially hesitate to enter. Furthermore, the tiny rainbow sticker on the front door was probably not seen or interpreted as an indication of an LGBT venue. So, if gay symbols are only recognizable by gay people and not by the wider population, this may to certain extent explain the somewhat still limited co-existence of heterosexual and non-heterosexual cultures. This experience may indicate that gay facilities' (in)visibility needs to be studied from several perspectives, including direct observations (e.g. crowded places, or not from outside, presence/absence of rainbow flags) and coming from gay patrons' and non-patrons' perspectives and from straight people's perspective. This cross-perspective analysis would be helpful to describe gay (in) visibilities in Europe beyond their general contexts.

8. Conclusions

Quantitative methodology enables researchers to look beyond simple or multiple indicator data. We believe that we have shown that, even in a field largely dominated by qualitative methods, the geographies of sexualities can be studied by quantitative methods. Quantitative tools do not have to strive for generalizability or universal validity, but they can complement other methodologies in dialectical paths to understanding.

Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was used for an analysis of data from the Spartacus International Gay Guide of 2007, which made it possible to study gay facility structures and places in the largest cities of the European Union, Norway and Switzerland. We wanted to understand the nature of the underlying economic, cultural and social factors which affect the existing structure of various European 'gay places'. PCA has helped in reaching beyond the 'factual data', producing two new components (CP1 and CP2) with characteristic functions which allowed for a further investigation of this underlying structure. The first component (CP1) has been interpreted as a comfort, touristic or commodification axis, whereas the second component (CP2) shed some light on the complex conditions of gay sociability, and specifically on gays' cultural (in) visibility, taking the touristic or commodification dimension – as accounted for by the first component – into account.

This study offers some explanations for gay (in)visibilities in Europe, since it might be also a valuable interpretation for CP2, as gay sociability may occur visibly and invisibly. Plausible explanatory factors for CP1 and CP2 include historical experience and political background (LGBT legislation, such as (de)criminalization or protection against the economic situation, market economy, commodification, tourism, etc.), and other societal or cultural conditions (traditional vs. liberal values). These factors have to be understood in relation to other factors influencing broader concepts such as religion, nationalism, etc., or mirroring them through media, politics and opinion makers. It is then a whole 'web' of factors that affect levels of gay acceptance, and gay cultural development either in space-time or in the cyberspace.

We believe that the PCA methodology used in this research has shed some light on the distribution of gay spaces and places, but we have to be aware of some connected analytical limitations. The two components examined account for some of 57% of the variance in the original set of 27 variables (i.e., the information available from the data set), and therefore some important factors still remained hidden to us. In order to describe gay facilities' visibility in more detail, we suggest that conducting a multi-actor (residents, tourists, activists, city planners, municipalities, etc.) qualitative or mixed analysis should be designed. This quantitative study of 'gay places' in the largest European cities focused mainly on a national and macro-regional analytical perspective, which could be complemented in the future with smaller-scale surveys. Our main goal was to utilize a standardized database which allowed for a

[19] Though a closed definition of « bears » does not exist, the term can be said generally to refer to gay or bisexual men with a good deal of body hair (Textor, 1999).

comparative viewpoint. Even though this study explicitly focusses only on gay males and venues catering to them and was not meant to engage in a refined critical discussion of queer theory, the authors believe that the results and issues from this discussion are of a character that also influence cultural attitudes towards homosexual women and the other non- heterosexual people in general.

Acknowledgement

This work was supported by research projects 'SVV No. 260082 and GA UK No. 1092214 „Queer geography: Commodification, segregation and globalization of sexual identities in cities?" at the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, Charles University, Prague.

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Initial submission 3 October 2013, **final acceptance** 25 March 2014

Please cite this article as:

GABIAM, K., PITOŇÁK, M. (2014): Economic, cultural and social factors influencing the development of gay businesses and places: Evidence from the European Union. Moravian Geographical Reports, Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 2–17. DOI: 10.2478/mgr-2014-0014.

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